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**Queer Geographies of Geborgenheit:
The LGBT Politics of Security
and Formations of Agency in Brazil**

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ABSTRACT

The thesis discusses emergent formations of agency that are currently taking shape in relation to lesbian, gay and trans subjectivities in Brazil. It engages with the anti-homophobic politics of the lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) movement and, simultaneously, draws on research conducted with queer people so as to extend the view beyond activist practices. During the past two decades, anti-homophobic politics have been oriented towards an engagement with the public provision of security for sexual minorities, in particular in terms of victim services, new laws and changes in policing practices. The thesis argues that a key aspect of these politics relates to a 'governmental' logic of population management that the LGBT movement has come to enact as part of a broader shift towards a politics of 'citizenship'. Michel Foucault's elaborations around liberal governmentality are discussed in relation to recent debates around sexual politics in order to address new dynamics of normalisation and subjectivation that have taken shape. Contextualising the LGBT politics within broader social struggles around a democratisation of the country after two decades of military dictatorship, it is however argued that the activist enactments open up a potential for transformation that goes beyond processes of normalisation and subjectivation. Relations between queer people, sites of activism and state institutions have started to change with the effect of granting queer people access to resources that have previously been denied, as well as instigating a change in the militarised organisation of the Brazilian security apparatus. A Deleuzian understanding of agency as an affective and relational capacity is introduced in order to bring out various aspects of this potential. This understanding is further elaborated with reference to the German notion of *Geborgenheit*, which, it is argued, is particularly useful for bringing out how emergent formations of agency take shape in concrete spatial contexts. More specifically, *Geborgenheit* – which means something like sheltered-ness and security in an immediately positive and spatial sense – helps in addressing affective dynamics that enable subjects to open up to, stake claims or positively relate to spaces. This also enables an extension of the analysis beyond 'governmental' practices of the LGBT movement to a range of further sites. *Geborgenheit*, in this sense, provides a productive counterpoint to the notion of 'security' which has been dominating the political debate around queer politics in Brazil, opening up possibilities for rethinking the relevance of both activist and everyday enactments and the affective dynamics that are at play. The metropolitan region of Rio de Janeiro provides a focus for the analysis, which is related to the fact that LGBT security activism has started out and continues to be strongly articulated there. Moreover, this spatial focus helps in bringing out some challenges involved in engaging with security politics and *Geborgenheit* in a context that has created new agentic possibilities for queer people, yet has simultaneously been marked by profound social inequalities, intense spatial segregation, and multiple forms of violence. Formations of agency are profoundly conditioned by the paradoxical dynamics unfolding in this context. The empirical research used involves participant observations at activist conferences and interviews with activists as well as two participatory workshop series conducted with lesbian, gay and trans people in two different parts of Rio's metropolitan region – the Centre and Nova Iguaçu, in the Baixada Fluminense region adjacent to the municipality of Rio de Janeiro. An investigation of emergent formations of agency within and across sites of activism and the everyday is used for a discussion of problems and potentials of security politics and for a reconsideration of politics of citizenship more broadly.

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0. PREFACE: TRAJECTORIES OF THE PROJECT

A gigantic rainbow flag decorates a large conference room densely packed with LGBT (lesbian, gay, bisexual, *travesti* and transsexuals)¹ activists, government representatives, academics, and policemen and women from all over Brazil. A member of the military police from the state of Sergipe in the Northeast of Brazil steps up to the microphone and, in the middle of his speech on a different topic, comes out as gay – for the first time in public, as he says. The audience responds with frenetic applause. This remarkable event took place in April 2007 at the 1st National Seminar on Public Security and Combating Homophobia (*I Seminário Nacional de Segurança Pública e Combate à Homofobia*) in Rio de Janeiro's Othon Palace Hotel, which was organised by Rio's LGBT movement and funded by the Brazilian government. Attending shortly after my arrival in Rio de Janeiro, the seminar is my first in-depth encounter with the political project of anti-homophobic security politics in Brazil, which forms one of the main contexts that this thesis engages with. Highlighting and contextualising some observations I made during the seminar helps not only to provide a sense of how my research started to unfold, it also provides an illustration of some of the major dynamics the thesis sets out to address.

The police officer's 'coming-out' is remarkable because the relationship between queer² people and the police, which carries on a legacy of the military

¹ While in North Atlantic LGBT activism the 'T' commonly stands for 'transgender', in the Brazilian context it is mostly used as an acronym for both '*travesti*' and 'transsexuals' ('*transexuais*'). (On the term '*travesti*' see note 3; on 'transgender' see Ch. 1 note 16).

² I am using 'queer' here to address principally people enacting transgender or erotic same-sex practices, who may or may not identify with same-sex or trans categories (e.g. lesbian, gay, *travesti*, transsexual, *bicha*, bisexual, transgender, queer). 'Queer' suggests a greater openness with respect to identities and practices than the acronym 'LGBT' (lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans) that is often used in activism and other public discourses. I am thus using 'LGBT' when

dictatorship, has long been troubled, and continues to be so. Not only are the Brazilian (military and civil) police forces difficult institutions to be in for lesbians, gays, trans or other queer people, they have also been known for failing to protect queer people from homo- and transphobic crimes as well as for committing numerous acts of violence, including humiliation, rape and homicide themselves (Böer 2003; Carrara and Vianna 2006; Mott et al. 2002; Ramos 2007: 1-2; Soares 2000). The police officer who performs a coming-out as an openly gay man who participates in LGBT discourse and thus mixes up apparently antagonistic identities, becomes the emblem of a new political project – even of a whole style of politics that is marked by a collaboration between advocates of LGBT citizenship and state agents. In fact, the whole seminar in which this ‘coming-out’ is staged presents itself as emblematic of this project, as is announced already in its program text:

It is for the first time in the history of the country that an encounter between organisations for the defence of the rights of gays, lesbians, *travestis*,³ transsexuals and bisexuals, and representatives of the civil and military police, universities, reference centres for the combat of homophobia as well as governments of all states get in dialogue and develop politics of public security [*segurança pública*] for the purpose of countering homophobia.

The broader political style out of which this project has grown runs under the label of ‘LGBT citizenship’, which has emerged in the mid 1990s. The field of ‘public security’ (*segurança pública*), comprising in particular the police and criminal justice systems, has turned into one of the central arenas of LGBT citizenship politics, alongside further fields like health or campaigns for civil

referring to discourses where this term is used. This issue will be addressed in more detail in Chapter 1.

³ ‘*Travesti*’ is a term used in Brazil and other Latin American countries for trans people who were assigned at birth a male sex and enact forms of female gender expression and body-modifying technologies such as ‘cross-dressing’ or plastic surgery without attempting a full assumption of the female sex and gender.

partnerships. Engagements with public security continue to be surrounded by an air of wonder at the apparently novel possibility to stake claims to the police – which had come to be seen as the embodiment of state-sanctioned homophobia – as a resource in the struggle against homo- and transphobia and in favour of citizenship.

An emblematic figure complementary to the police officer who came out as gay has emerged in the form of the LGBT activist who teaches police courses – crossing boundaries between queer people and the police, so to speak, from the other side. The now 50 year old *travesti* Marcelly Malta from Porto Alegre provides an example of this figure. From the 1970s to the mid 90s, Marcelly lived more without than within the realm of social citizenship, lacking the opportunity of formal employment and having been detained, humiliated and maltreated time and again by the police. In 1999, she started teaching courses on human rights, sexual minorities and sex work for trainees of the civil and military police, stepping from an abject-like position into that of an expert (see Böer 2003).

While a sense of agency and transformative potential manifests at events like the 1st National Seminar on Public Security and Combating Homophobia, however, this sense is actually premised on a whole discursive regime of LGBT citizenship. Such a discourse is promoted, for instance, through the National Plan of Public Security (*Plano Nacional de Segurança Pública*) of 2000, where concerns of LGBT people are mentioned under the heading ‘Violence against minorities’; or the launch, in 2004, of the national program ‘Brazil without Homophobia: Program for the Combat of Violence and Discrimination against GLBT and the Promotion of Homosexual Citizenship’ (*Brasil sem Homofobia: Programa de Combate à Violência e à Discriminação contra GLBT e de Promoção da Cidadania Homossexual*). The LGBT politics of public security has been formative of an increasingly professionalised and

institutionalised style of activism that is based on collaborations with state actors and partakes in governmental routine processes of policy-making (see also Facchini 2005).

If the LGBT discourse of public security has gained some discursive stability as well as a degree of institutionalisation it is nonetheless multifarious, highly dynamic and unfolds a series of contingent effects. While ‘comings-out’ of police officers are becoming more and more likely, they nonetheless remain precarious. It is not certain, for instance, whether the police officer from Sergipe, who emerged as an emblematic figure at the seminar mentioned above, did not have to face hostilities in his social and work environment following his ‘coming-out’.⁴ Likewise, the trans activist Marcelly Malta has not simply left behind a positioning as ‘abject’, which became evident in May 2008, when Marcelly was beaten and severely injured by the security guards of a public health centre.⁵ The celebratory depiction of ‘historical’ achievements must thus not be conflated with the complex realities unfolding in the lives and political practices of queer people.

A further aspect of the dynamisms and contingencies involved in the politics of public security pertains to contestations within the LGBT movement itself. “We will discuss here very nice and calmly”, was one of the iterative statements made by Toni Reis, president of the Brazilian LGBT Association (ABGLT), in opening one of the panels. With this statement (which would mockingly be echoed by the audience in subsequent appearances of Toni to the podium) the speaker tried to secure the collaborative character

⁴ The case of two sergeants from the armed forces, Laci de Araujo and Fernando Alcântara, comes to mind here, who were arrested after appearing as a gay couple on a national TV program on 5 June 2008. Against Araujo, an allegation of desertion was made, which was, however, highly contested as Araujo suffered from mental illness. An official note on the case by Rio de Janeiro’s LGBT group Grupo Arco-Íris, dating from 17 June 2008, can be found at <http://forumrioemmovimento.blogspot.com/> (accessed on 1 Sept. 2010).

⁵ This information is based on an open e-mail message sent by the LGBT organisation SOMOS from Porto Alegre to the State Ministry of Public Affairs of Rio Grande do Sul on 15 May 2008. See also Böer (2003) for an account of ongoing prejudice on the part of the police and public officials Marcelly was subjected to after starting to teach courses for the police.

of the encounter, anticipating the various lines of conflict running through it.⁶ The event was characterised by a slight imbalance between the solemn style of many speeches on the one hand, where progress, success and collaboration were celebrated, and more mundane, critical and discontented enunciations on the other hand in the comments to speeches as well as informal encounters during breaks. In particular, after a panel where researchers and activists provided a panorama of the current state of discriminations and violence against LGBT people, some disruptive interventions occurred. A transgender activist pointed to the recurrent research finding that had been mentioned in one of the talks according to which transgender people are the most likely victims of violence. She went on to say that ‘transphobia’ should become a focus of attention in the seminar, which had been dominated by the question of ‘homophobia’. (A similar point was subsequently made with respect to ‘lesbophobia’.)

Another commentator questioned the current approach more fundamentally, talking about the danger of “cultivating an illusion that the security apparatus, the police apparatus, measures of this type, could address [*tomar conta de*] the question of violence and crime”. He called attention to the deficient technological equipment of the police as well as to the fact that flagrant social inequalities can hardly be overcome by mobilising the police. Moreover, he indicated the strategic problem ensuing from what he saw as a second line of political engagement running in parallel to the politics of public security and which consisted in rigorously critiquing violence committed by state agents, first and foremost the police, as well as attempting to trim down the state instead of increasing its importance as political actor. In the course of

⁶ Concretely, he referred to dissatisfaction expressed by activists following the statement of a member of the police on the first day who said that he found it important to counter violence, although he would certainly not change his opinion on the values of family and heterosexual relations during the week of the seminar.

the seminar, further and partly related issues were raised: What exactly does 'public security' consist of, and who is it really for? How can more invisible forms of violence, in particular domestic forms that affect many women, be addressed? Is the 'criminalisation' of homophobia via 'hate crime' legislation, which forms part of the current political demands, really an appropriate political approach, given that this implies an extension of juridical and disciplinary powers? How can the growing sector of private security be addressed, which might be as problematic as the civil and military police in relation to violence against LGBT people? Isn't it more important to improve a range of societal institutions, such as the health and education system or cultural facilities instead of giving so much attention to security agents?

Underneath the celebratory depiction of collaboration and political success, a series of paradoxes unfolded, which at times were (somewhat forcedly) appeased so as to enable the appearance of consensus and, at other times, erupted in overt confrontations. Such paradoxes are of great interest to this research project. They indicate the very dynamism inherent in the LGBT politics of public security that ensues from the simultaneity of a desire for effective social and political change on the one hand and the numerous drawbacks, difficulties and counterproductive effects involved in the actual political enactments on the other. In particular, experiencing the ongoing presence and efficacy of such paradoxicality has convinced me that the politics of public security have not simply settled into a homogeneous discursive regime with a set of effects that could be defined in a generalised way. Instead, a persistent and in itself multifarious desire for change seems to materialise underneath as well as through the politics of public security, persistently challenging settled discourses of 'LGBT citizenship' and striving for their re-articulation.

This project, then, aims to engage with the often paradoxical ways in which a desire for change has been able to materialise in the context of the LGBT politics of public security, simultaneously to the establishment of discourses that frame social and political issues in limiting, normalising or exclusionary ways. It is concerned in particular with ‘affective’ dynamics that are constitutive of both regimes of power that unfold effects of normalisation and exclusion, and of emergent formations of agency that exceed and challenge such regimes. I understand ‘affective dynamics’ here as forces that are ‘real’ and ‘material’ and shape unfolding relations of power and agency, yet necessarily multifarious, under-determined, and in-flux, as they actualise in ways that cannot easily be known in advance. As I will further discuss in the following section and later on in the thesis, in order to theorise such ‘affective’ dynamics I am mobilising in particular Gilles Deleuze’s (1970/1988) and Deleuze and Guattari’s (1980/2004) work on ‘affect’. Moreover, I am using the German notion of *Geborgenheit*, which means something like ‘security’ in a sense of ‘sheltered-ness’ or ‘comfortable nested-ness’ and allows me to approach such affective dynamics through a focus on concrete relations of subjectivity and space. This research, then, is concerned with unfolding affective dynamics and with paradoxical formations of power and agency they give rise to in the context of contemporary LGBT politics of public security. It aims to develop a new angle on social and political processes by attending to such paradoxicalities – rather than subscribing to the alternatives of critiquing or romantically celebrating these processes, which have been prevalent in theoretical and political debates, as we shall see later on.

In order to facilitate an engagement with affective dynamics unfolding through as well as beyond the LGBT politics of public security, it has been important to broaden the focus beyond the concern with LGBT citizenship politics and the discourse of public security. ‘Beyond’ means two things here.

Firstly, in practical political enactments, dynamics and processes may unfold that are not fully consistent with prevalent discursive logics of security politics. Activists may, for instance, mobilise an established regime of police prevention, yet, at the same time, enact relations of solidarity and care, fostering engagements that are 'beyond' the discourse of public security. Secondly, affective dynamics that take shape in contexts outside more formalised activism are also of relevance to the issues at stake in the LGBT politics of citizenship. Enactments taking place in a number of contexts, from someone's home, workplace or neighbourhood to urban, rural and transnational spaces, networks or collectivities can be regarded as constitutive of affective dynamics that also shape formations of agency and citizenship that have a significance of their own and can furthermore inspire, merge with or destabilise more formal activations. From this angle, the very 'politics of citizenship' need to be conceived in broader terms than relating exclusively to established discourses of 'LGBT citizenship'. This is precisely where the focus on relations of subjectivity and space and *Geborgenheit* has become vital. This focus is used in this research in order to move towards an understanding of emergent formations of agency and citizenship that sheds new light on, yet simultaneously goes beyond established discourses of 'LGBT citizenship' and 'public security'. In what follows, I want to provide an account of how this project, which is more fully outlined in Chapter 1, has come into being.

Exploring security and *Geborgenheit*

This thesis is the result of a coming together of several trajectories, which involve different academic, political and personal engagements. A first set of trajectories has evolved in relation to my thesis for the German *Diplom* in

psychology (Hutta 2005; see also Hutta 2009) It critically engaged with discourses around fear of crime and what in German is called the ‘subjective feeling of safety’ (*subjektives Sicherheitsempfinden*). It elaborated a tentative genealogy of these discourses and juxtaposed them with the German notion of *Geborgenheit*. That research was formative of my present concern with politics of security and the notion of *Geborgenheit*, although transposing these issues to the Brazilian context and an engagement with LGBT activism involved a thorough refashioning of the analytical tools.

Moreover, in my previous research I was interested in theorising relations of subjectivity and space in non-reductive ways. Without wanting to go into too much detail at this stage, recent discussions around ‘affect’ in a range of disciplines including British geography and psychology and feminist theory seemed to have opened up new possibilities for addressing subjective-spatial relations. Having started to engage with these debates during my *Diploma* research, I wanted to pursue this engagement further in my PhD project. In particular, already in the *Diploma* research I found some strands of what has come to be called ‘affect theory’ or ‘non-representational theory’ in human geography (see Thrift 2000) to be stuck in binaries of the ‘representational’ vs. the ‘non-representational’, ‘discourse’ vs. ‘practice’, or ‘emotion’ vs. ‘affect’ that seemed rather unhelpful (on this see Barnett 2008; Pile 2010). As a corrective, apart from re-reading Deleuze’s work on affect, I found Walter Benjamin’s (1927/1972; 1938/2006; 1999; Benjamin and Lacis 1924/1972) engagements with cities inspiring, as ‘affective’ dynamics are apprehended here *through* rather than *against* registers of language and emotion, among others. These issues will reappear in the course of this thesis.

Queer and activist connections

Apart from the trajectories of the project that have taken shape in relation to my *Diploma* research I want to mention a further set, which pertains to my personal, social and political subjectivity-in-space as a gay man and activist. As for many queer people, relating to rural as well as urban spaces for me has involved struggles around finding and creating enjoyable spaces and collectivities as well as inhabiting and contesting norms. The privilege of having been able to live in different places including Southern Germany, Berlin, Santa Cruz, London and Rio de Janeiro has fostered various relations with both metropolitan and peripheral, physical and imagined queer and other social and political cultures. Simultaneously, my involvement in political and educational LGBT projects and queer and feminist networks has given rise to investments that played a central role in my selection of the present research topic.

Having visited other Latin American countries before and having been interested in Brazilian culture for several years, I first travelled to Brazil in the winter of 2006. In the course of this travel, I became increasingly interested in the Brazilian LGBT movement, which, in comparison to what I had experienced in Germany, seemed to join together more intensely a diversity of gay and straight, professionalised and autonomous, female, male, and trans, middle- and lower class subjects and engagements, forming something that actually felt like a 'movement' – rather than a set of elitist and institutionalised advocacy organisations that are detached from more mundane communities.

My engagement with LGBT activism was prefigured several years ago. Having worked before for the German Amnesty International coordinating group on 'Human Rights and Sexual Identity', in 2003 I started working as a volunteer for the queer sex education project of the Berlin-based organisation

'ABqueer' (formerly part of the German network 'Lambda'), conducting educational sessions with young people in schools and youth clubs. As some of my colleagues and I shared some ambivalence regarding possible effects of normalisation our own educational enactments might produce, we initiated a collective research. What troubled us in particular was our sense that with the formation of institutionalised LGBT activism, lesbian, gay and trans identities tended to be normalised according to an apparently ideal, healthy and 'good' trajectory of development, with the effect of, at least implicitly, dismissing sexual and gendered enactments that appear 'dirtier' and less easy to accommodate within normative expectations around late-modern subjecthood (which Lisa Duggan 2002 has termed 'homonormative').⁷ The present project has allowed me to pursue a related kind of engagement with activism further. It was interesting to see that Brazilian LGBT activism seemed less professionalised, more in touch with queer communities as well as involved in harsher struggles around political recognition, yet had to face issues of normalisation that seemed not dissimilar to the ones I experienced in the German context.

While finishing this thesis, I started to work as a researcher for an activist transgender research project that is concerned with trans people's social and human rights situation from a global perspective (see www.transrespect-transphobia.org). Through this work, I have become involved in new ways in the very practices that are at stake in the present research, which has enabled a cross-fertilisation of my academic and activist work. Re-positioning my own activist involvement by focusing more on how trans issues are or are not being addressed under the umbrella 'LGBT' has moreover made me differentiate some of my elaborations around public security activism in this respect. My

⁷ We presented our research at the 5th International Queer and Gender Studies Conference, Wroclaw (Hutta, Rieske et al. 2004).

work for the transgender project has also made me more aware of how noteworthy the role is that people like the mentioned Marcelly Malta from Porto Alegre have played in emergent formations of agency and citizenship in Brazil.

Acknowledgements

If this thesis has emerged from the confluence of various trajectories, it has at the same time become possible only through the inspiration, care and guidance of numerous friends, colleagues, mentors and participants. First of all, I would like to thank the research participants in Brazil who have been curious enough to engage with this project and endowed it with life. The performer and research participant Marcello Taurino, who enriched this thesis through his marvellous *aconchego* poem, expressed his explicit wish to appear with his actual name.

While living and working at times more between than within the cities of Rio de Janeiro, London and Berlin during the various stages of this project, I benefited greatly from the support, inspiration and *Geborgenheit* I received from a number of people. These are: Aleksandra Lewicki, Alex Wafer, Alexandra Zavos, Beate Binder, Ben Trott, Carolin, Elke and Josef Hutta, Cida Teixeira, Cüneyt Cakirlar, Donat Bayer, Elena Vacchelli, Fatos Ustek, Fernando Stavale, Gavin Brown, Jasber Singh, Jorge Emmanuel, Julia Kemps, Hilal Alkan, Ilana Mountian, Katha Wulfert, Katharina Röpcke-Baysal, Leonardo Viso, Nicolas Wasser, Ozan Zeybek, Pedro Costa, Robert Kulpa, Rogério Haesbaert, Rutvica Andrijasevic, Sérgio Carrara, Thomas Viola Rieske, Tim Sedlmeyer, Uli Beisel and Vagner Almeida.

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PART I OPENINGS

This research explores formations of agency and citizenship that take shape in the context of as well as beyond current LGBT politics of public security in Brazil. It discusses how these politics, which are targeted at state policies and practices that provide for the safety and security of LGBT people, tends to displace an earlier focus on denouncing homophobic and transphobic violence. The emergence of LGBT public security activism forms part of a wider shift of activist engagements from the articulation of protest from a position of marginality and the raising of consciousness among queer people towards making demands for 'LGBT citizenship' from within the polity. The research examines the often paradoxical effects that this style of engagement has evoked, enabling new formations of agency and citizenship, yet also shaping these formations in powerful ways.

In order to explore how these paradoxical formations emerge in concrete spatial and historical contexts, the research discusses unfolding relations of subjectivity and space that are considered as constitutive of such formations, using the metropolitan area of Rio de Janeiro as a focus. The engagement with such 'subjective-spatial relations', as they will be called, opens up the view beyond political and scientific discourses that ascribe 'agency' and 'citizenship' to an established set of actors and practices, for instance by positing activist campaigners as the proper agents of change or by understanding 'citizenship' in terms of the use of rights and public services. This research instead calls attention to the processual and contingent ways in which concrete formations of agency and citizenship emerge in often unforeseen and paradoxical ways as part of ongoing enactments that involve

activists and state actors, but also ‘ordinary’ queer people and the spaces they inhabit.

Chapter 1 explains the contours of this argument in more detail. For this purpose, it introduces some of the central concepts and methods as well as the basic methodological approach guiding the research, indicating in which parts of the thesis these different issues will be further elaborated. Chapter 2 then sets the scene for the engagement with subjective-spatial relations by addressing the spatial focus on Rio de Janeiro.

Part of the reason why this region is at the focus of this research has to do with its significance in the formation of LGBT public security activism. In 1999, a cooperation between Rio’s LGBT movement and the Office for Public Security started that resulted in an anti-violence service centre that provided a model for the nation-wide installation of similar projects. Since 1999, the local LGBT movement in Rio de Janeiro has been pushing for a further elaboration and institutionalisation of LGBT public security politics in various fields, which has made it a main actor in the development of LGBT public security politics on a national scale.

Moreover, and this is what Chapter 2 elaborates, Rio de Janeiro helps in bringing out the particular challenges involved in engaging with public security and subjective-spatial relations in a context that has created new agentic possibilities for queer people yet at the same time is marked by profound social inequalities, intense spatial segregation and various forms of violence. As the chapter will show, working in this context entails attending to formations of power and cultural expression that shape possibilities for inhabiting city spaces.

1. CONTOURS OF THE ARGUMENT

Beyond gay celebration and the homophobic nightmare

Two images relating to homosexual and transgender life and politics in Brazil have become pervasive over the past two or three decades. We could call the first image one of 'gay celebration'. It is epitomised by the LGBT parades through São Paulo's city centre and along Rio de Janeiro's Copacabana beach, which have since the early 2000s been gathering millions of people, thus signalling newly gained possibilities to publicly enact same-sex and transgender desires and lifestyles. In spite of its *machismo* and catholic morality, Brazil appears as one of Latin America's – and even the world's – most gay-friendly and sex-affirmative places. The election of Rio de Janeiro as lesbian and gay travellers' "Best Global Destination" in November 2009 during the 10th International Conference on Gay and Lesbian Tourism in Boston, MA, fits this image well.⁸ What lends particular support to this celebratory depiction is a 'pink economy' that has taken shape in particular from the late 1980s onwards and caters predominantly towards wealthier gay men in urban centres (Parker 1999: 77-87, 122-3; Nunan 2003). Media spectacles surrounding Brazilian carnival (Green 1999; Gontijo 2009: 3) and gay porn (Green 1999: 2-3; Reges 2004) have fostered further associations of Brazil with a vibrant (homo)sexual culture. Such imaginations also reinvigorate age-old colonialist myths of excessive and tropical (racialised) sexualities and gender performances.⁹

⁸ See <http://www.eturbonews.com/12574/first-ever-travel-awards-honoring-lgbt-travelers-favorite-destin>; accessed on 23 Jan. 2010.

⁹ For an overview of the wider debates around sexualities in and of the Global South, including Brazil, and recurrent issues around exoticism see Brown et al. (2010).

‘Brazilians are very open towards homosexuality’, is a recurrent statement in public discourse that sums up this image of gay celebration.

Politically minded commentators, however, are rash to contrast this celebratory image with a gloomier one, epitomised by the message: ‘Brazilians are world champions in killing homosexuals’. Dossiers of the Gay Group of Bahia (GGB) that are based on newspaper articles are referred to in order to state that: ‘Almost every second day a homosexual or trans person is killed in Brazil for homophobic reasons’ – even to invoke an ongoing ‘homocaust’.¹⁰ Sometimes, recent victimological studies are invoked in order to point out that ‘60% of LGBT people have had experiences of verbal or physical homophobic aggression.’¹¹ Further evidence of pervasive homophobia in Brazil is provided by opinion polls, such as the 2008 research of the Rosa Luxemburg and Perseu Abramo foundations, which states:

[...B]ehind the image of liberality that common sense attributes to the Brazilian people, in particular concerning questions of conduct and sexuality, there are fairly increased levels of intolerance regarding sexual diversity – which are, indeed, coherent with Brazil’s probable leadership in homophobic crimes. (Venturi 2008: w/o pages)¹²

Celebratory images of liberality are thus posited in political debates and research on violence as superficial appearances that elide the supposedly more fundamental reality of violence and discrimination. To be sure, the promotion of exotic eroticism needs to be interrogated. The point, however, is that depictions of violence cannot easily serve as a more fundamental, more authentic, account of reality. Instead, such depictions also relate contingently to realities, and have certain powerful effects.

¹⁰ The gay activist, anthropologist and founder of GGB Luiz Mott has repeatedly used the term ‘homocaust’.

¹¹ This finding, which has been mobilised especially in LGBT activism, is taken from a study by Carrara et al. (2003) made during Rio’s 8th LGBT Parade, 2003.

¹² Translations of the Portuguese and German texts cited as well as of empirical data are mine.

The text summarising the findings of the opinion poll exemplifies a common way in which accounts on homophobia are being mobilised in current political discourse, which is of direct relevance to understanding the LGBT politics of public security. It continues: "This indicates that much remains to be done in terms of public policy, so as to turn into reality the name of the program of the Presidential Special Office for Human Rights, 'Brazil without Homophobia', created in 2004." (Ibid.) Such claims to public policy are in fact frequent companions of the images I have called the 'homophobic nightmare'. To a certain extent, such images have even become self-perpetuating due to their political purchase. The simple mobilisation of numbers and shocking images around discrimination, violence and killings seems to outdo the most astute analysis of social sex and gender relations in terms of raising attention and lending legitimacy to political claims. Again, this does not mean that problems of violence were unreal, but rather that the concrete effects of such mobilisation, the interlocking of knowledge, imaginaries and political practice, deserve some interrogation.

Biopolitics and public security

While discourses of homophobic violence have opened up new possibilities of LGBT activism in Brazil, they have, simultaneously, been premised on a new style of activism that summons new kinds of problems. I consider Michel Foucault's (1976/1998; 2007; 2008) work around 'governmentality' and 'biopolitics' useful for addressing the concrete dynamics and effects of this style of activism. In this work, Foucault is concerned with how the management of life and populations arose as a political problem in Western Europe from the 18th century onwards, and with the technologies of power

that were invented in order to address this problem. He talks about a 'biopolitics of the population' (1976/1998: 139) that is targeted at enhancing the population's life and productivity, and about particular 'regimes of truth' that guide governmental action (see also Rose 1996: 29-31). Along these lines, I want to argue that 'LGBT citizenship' has emerged as part of a particular biopolitical regime of truth. The 'LGBT population' or 'sexual minorities' are constituted as an object of knowledge and state intervention: as a sub-population that is in need of special governmental care. The dimensions along which 'LGBT citizenship' is articulated pertain to such diverse issues as civil partnerships, health services, educational practices, tourist infrastructure – and securitisation, which is at the focus of the LGBT politics of public security. Chapter 5 develops this analytical perspective more fully and characterises the contemporary style of activism as one of 'governmental activism'. Importantly, I do not understand activist engagements as a simple 'choice' that could be deemed 'wrong', but rather as having resulted from struggles to develop means for enabling effective political change. Furthermore, a 'governmental' project has unfolded in fragmentary and paradoxical ways, evoking a range of contingent effects that need to be further explored.

The politics of '*segurança pública*', as it is termed in Brazil, is a central domain of LGBT citizenship politics. I translate '*segurança pública*' as 'public security', as this notion has a particular genealogy related to the Brazilian and Latin American context with its history of military dictatorships that were followed by processes of both democratisation and neoliberalisation.¹³ As will be explicated in more detail in Chapter 6, LGBT public security activism has piggybacked on, but also been formative of, a wider endeavour to transform and modernise the police institutions, which were seen as clinging on to

¹³ '*Segurança pública*' refers to the public organisation and enactment of both national and citizens' safety and security through repressive and preventive practices and technologies pertaining in particular to the police and the criminal justice system.

anachronistic militarised structures but also as unable to meet the technological demands of modern crime prevention. This wider endeavour targeted a democratisation but also a neoliberal technocratic reform of public security, the alliance of which gave rise to complex and paradoxical effects, instigating processes of humanisation and citizen orientation, but also new forms of normalisation and control. Aligning in particular with the 'democratising' forces, yet simultaneously engaging some of the new neoliberal technologies of control, the LGBT movement entered this already paradoxical constellation, aiming to improve LGBT people's conditions of safety and security.

Juxtaposing security with geborgenheit

Governmental LGBT activism around public security has been a multifarious and contested field. Two specific dynamics have traversed this complex field and form the centre of my interrogation. The first dynamic has to do with the constitution of queer people as a vulnerable population on the one hand and as activists and claimants of demands on the other. This double framing has implications for imaginations of agency. Agency tends to get bifurcated into the – more receptive – use of governmental services on the part of LGBT people and the – more antagonistic – claiming of better conditions of citizenship on the part of activists. This framing does not only insert a hiatus between activists and 'ordinary' queer people, it also stages the state and further governmental agencies as super-agents that provide security and care. The question ensues of how forms of agency that exceed governmental ensembles can be comprehended within LGBT discourses of public security.

The second dynamic has to do with a process of normalisation, which results from the significance granted to the figure of the vulnerable LGBT

subject. Viewing queer people as a population in need of biopolitical care gives rise to expectations that lesbian, gay and trans people perform ‘coherent’, ‘respectable’ or ‘good’ subjects – with all the racial, gendered and class-related implications this has – that deserve and are able to receive full citizenship and biopolitical care. Such expectations are mediated by forms of knowledge that operate by means of identitarian categories and normalising statistics produced to establish vulnerabilities, needs and related forms of intervention.

My main strategy for critically engaging with these issues of agency and normalisation consists in developing a form of engagement that troubles the prevalent governmental logic by juxtaposing it with a different set of issues. With ‘troubling’ I do not mean an out-of-hand rejection of governmental activism. I rather propose to extend the focus beyond vulnerabilities and demands of a population that need to be met by technologies of securitisation to the question of how formations of agency actually take shape – through, against and beyond governmental technologies. A first step will consist in exploring the paradoxes of power and agency that emerge from activist engagements (Part III). In order to enable a more nuanced analysis and extend the view beyond activist engagements, I will then focus on concrete formations of agency and citizenship that emerge from unfolding subjective-spatial relations (Part IV). The term ‘subjective-spatial relation’ calls attention to the inextricable entanglement of the ‘subjective’ the ‘spatial’ and fosters an engagement with the located-ness of formations of agency in historical and spatial contexts. It thus assists an interrogation of the relevance and potential of different – governmental and non-governmental – enactments with respect to formations of agency and citizenship.

What this project proposes, then, is the formulation of a distinctive kind of question or problematisation that can be juxtaposed, and in some ways combined, with the prevalent one. The question of subjective-spatial relations,

which in some ways is expressive of the overall concern of this research, could be formulated as: *What enables people to positively relate with, open up to, or claim places and spaces encountered in their lives?* Such a question entails some complication of the categories of ‘vulnerability’, ‘demands of a population’ or ‘security’ that tend to assign to subjects and events fixed positions within a governmental logic. It throws established normative assumptions regarding the ‘demands’ of a ‘population’ and how they can be met into question, addressing instead dynamics that unfold through or beyond these categories. Such a problematisation can also assist in getting a better sense of how the politics of public security actually feature in everyday lives and practices.

In order to create some epistemic and pragmatic space for engaging with subjective-spatial relations, I make use of the German notion of ‘*Geborgenheit*’, which will be the topic of Chapter 3. German-English Dictionaries translate *Geborgenheit* as ‘security’, with which the German word has some semantic overlap, but the set of connotations actually evoked by *Geborgenheit* is not covered by that translation. The German word corresponding better with ‘security’, as well as with ‘safety’, is ‘*Sicherheit*’. ‘Security’ is frequently associated with preventive technologies and tends to be defined negatively, as the absence of fears and dangers. *Geborgenheit*, by contrast, conjures up a sense of being comfortably nested within a sheltering space in relation to which one can open up. It cannot easily be associated with preventive technologies. As Wierzbicka (1998) points out, it would never be used in some of the contexts in which ‘safety or ‘security’ are used, for example related to a ‘safety pin’ or ‘security belt’.¹⁴ *Geborgenheit* could be said to retain a moment of ‘security’ in a directly positive sense – as in the phrase ‘to be safe

¹⁴ Wierzbicka provides an inadequate explanation for the difference in use, however, when she argues that ‘safety pin’ and ‘security belt’ are too ‘practical matters’. In my view, these concepts are rather – in contrast to *Geborgenheit* – linked a preventive logic (see also Hutta 2009).

and secure'. However, it introduces a particular set of spatial resonances, emphasising what can be called a sense of 'nested-ness' within a certain space.

Geborgenheit, then, directs attention to the formation of subjective-spatial relations, highlighting that which enables someone to open up to, 'nest in' or joyfully inhabit a space. (From here onwards, when using 'geborgenheit' as an analytical concept rather than foreign word, it is written not italicised and in small letters.) This engagement goes beyond questions of the prevention of risks and dangers, and also beyond the common binary of safety/fear. As will be argued later on, geborgenheit also goes beyond questions of 'home' and 'belonging', which commonly focus on established territorial relations. Nonetheless, an engagement with geborgenheit retains an attentiveness to such questions of safety, comfort, fear or belonging, possibly destabilising, however, the discursive frameworks they have tended to operate in.

Alongside this German notion, I will also make use of the Portuguese concept of '*aconchego*', which emerged in the process of my field work and resonates with *Geborgenheit*, as it signifies 'cosiness' or 'comfortable embraced-ness'. Chapter 7 discusses the role that this articulation of 'geborgenheit' with '*aconchego*' has played in this research. It argues that the Portuguese word has furthered an engagement with concrete subjective-spatial relations by directing attention to semantic nuances that were of relevance to my research participants' own engagements with subjective-spatial relations. Participants' narratives could thus be seen as performing part of the analysis itself.

'Geborgenheit' and '*aconchego*' are not meant to discard questions of securitisation wholesale. They rather serve to interrogate to what extent security can contribute to geborgenheit or is counterproductive, and what dynamics and relations are worth engaging that are beyond a biopolitical logic of securitisation. Instead of either rejecting securitisation wholesale or positing security as desirable per se, the focus is thus on the question of how positive,

and enabling, subjective-spatial relations come into existence – and with what kinds of effects, for whom. The question of *geborgenheit*, then, introduces a different set of questions. It enables an interrogation of the contingent effects of securitising efforts, and simultaneously creates a conceptual distance to the notion of ‘security’, which has emerged as part of a governmental logic. To be sure, the German word I am invoking also has a history that will need interrogating. However, by turning this word into an analytical concept, it is simultaneously possible to pluralise its semantics rather than to cling on to prevalent meanings and contexts of use. Moreover, my aim is not the formulation of a normative concept that could furnish an ideal scenario of ethics and politics. I am using ‘*geborgenheit*’ rather to enable a different kind of ethical-political engagement – to come to a different problematisation, ask different questions, and develop different practices.

While certain normative positions are necessarily involved in pursuing such a ‘different’ problematisation, ‘*geborgenheit*’ has a facilitating rather than representative function: it is an open and mobile device rather than the sign of an ideal to be reached. In this sense, we could call ‘*geborgenheit*’ a ‘transitory concept’: It enables ‘transitions’ to different kinds of engagement, and is itself mutable or ‘transient’ with respect to its meanings and contexts of use. *Geborgenheit* as transitory device enters and facilitates this project at a variety of points, from conceptual to practical levels. While on a conceptual level, the notion facilitates an engagement with dynamics that are often elided in debates on ‘security’, on a practical level it fosters experimentations with spaces and intensities in relation to their enabling capacities. Creating and attending to *geborgenheit* in the spaces of empirical work has thus been vital to this project, and this will become clearer in particular in Part IV of the thesis, where concrete subjective-spatial relations are being discussed. I will now outline the

further conceptual issues related to this engagement with *geborgenheit* and then provide an account of the sites and subjects that have been engaged with.

An affective approach to agency and citizenship

By extending the focus beyond the governmental logic of securitisation to the question of *geborgenheit*, this project instigates a different imagination of agency and citizenship. Agency is neither attributed exclusively to a securitising state nor to defined positions of citizens using rights and services, nor, in fact, to activists making political articulations in favour of new rights and forms of representation. Instead, agency is understood as contingent upon unfolding encounters and enactments rather than essential to preceding subjects or practices. It is bound to dynamic relations, which I approach specifically in terms of *geborgenheit*. Such relations can be considered ‘affective’ if we follow Deleuze (1970/1988). An affective approach to agency does not posit given subjects or practices as agentic per se, but instead aims to engage with affective relations that unfold effects that cannot easily be known in advance yet are constitutive of emergent formations of agency. Chapter 4 elaborates on this understanding of ‘emergent formations of agency’.

A major implication of this kind of interrogation is the opening up of new pathways for a discussion of ‘citizenship’. The specificity of the notion of ‘citizenship’ in relation to ‘agency’ has to do with its focus on subjects laying claim to a ‘state’, ‘nation’, ‘community’, or some other collective formation. This relation between subjects and collectivity has classically been framed in terms of ‘rights’, most fundamentally in what Hannah Arendt (1955/2004) calls ‘the right to have rights’ (see Parekh 2008: 29). In Brazilian debates and politics of LGBT activism and public security, citizenship (*cidadania*) is framed in terms

of activists claiming entitlements in relation to the state that are supposed to respond to a population's demands. The right to have or claim rights is framed here within a logic that stages – and distinguishes between – activist claimants and receptive users within a governmental scenario of biopolitics.

Processes of laying claim to collective formations and resources, however, are not exhausted by such biopolitical relations. Subjects may also implicitly enact some kind of claim-making, without articulating this in relation to the state or in terms of 'rights' and 'demands'. Such implicit enactments of citizenship may in turn have an effect on how more formalised articulations take shape and are being responded to. Similarly to my understanding of emergent formations of agency, I propose understanding 'citizenship' as emerging from unfolding affective dynamics, however with a focus on laying claim to collective formations. My approach to citizenship as emergent formation is inspired by Engin Isin's (2008; 2009) work on 'acts of citizenship'. Isin proposes this notion in order to go beyond common understandings of 'citizenship' in terms of membership in a state where someone enjoys a status as citizen or becomes a citizen through particular practices. Instead he aims to direct attention to how new formations of citizenship come into being in the very act of claim-making.¹⁵ Like in the case of agency, I understand formations of citizenship moreover as 'affective' in that they are grounded in particular relations of forces that enable them.

I engage with these issues of agency and citizenship through a two-fold focus on activist practice and queer people's unfolding relations to spaces, in the two steps mentioned earlier: I will first discuss paradoxical effects of public security activism, and then explore subjective-spatial relations. While the exploration of subjective-spatial relations includes a further and more nuanced

¹⁵ In Chapter 4, I will indicate what seems to be a slight difference between Isin's use of the notion of the 'act' and my use of the notion of 'enactment', which will be elaborated in that chapter.

engagement with activist enactments, it also opens the view beyond activism. A particular set of issues with respect to emergent formations of agency and citizenship ensues here from the focus on queer people and questions around norms around sexuality and gender this focus introduces. Before addressing the conceptual implications of this focus, let me comment on my use of ‘queer’ and ‘queer people’.

Engaging with ‘queer people’

In this thesis I refer to ‘queer people’ in the sense of people who enact transgender or erotic same-sex practices, and who may identify according to same-sex or transgender categories (e.g. lesbian, gay, *travesti*, bisexual, transgender, transsexual, *bicha*, queer) – although such identification need not take place. While setting such a focus on spatially and historically concrete subjects, practices and identities, the term ‘queer people’ simultaneously suggests a greater openness regarding enactments and subject positions than for instance the enumerative ‘LGBT’, which posits a (more or less) definite group of people identifying as ‘lesbians’, ‘gays’, ‘bisexuals’, ‘*travestis*’ and ‘transsexuals’.¹⁶ Moreover, these identitarian categories have specific

¹⁶ In North Atlantic activism, the ‘T’ commonly stands for ‘transgender’, used as an ‘umbrella’ term, or ‘trans people’, as an alternative umbrella term. The European trans network Transgender Europe (TGEU), referring to the ‘Transrespect vs. Transphobia Worldwide’ (TvT) research project, proposes the following working definition of ‘trans people’:

Trans people includes those people who have a gender identity which is different [from] the gender assigned at birth and those people who wish to portray their gender identity in a different way to the gender assigned at birth. It includes those people who feel they have to, or prefer or choose to, whether by language, clothing, accessories, cosmetics or body modification, present themselves differently to the expectations of the gender role assigned to them at birth. This includes, among many others, transsexual and transgender people, transvestites, cross dressers, no gender, multigender, genderqueer people, including intersex and gender variant people who relate to or identify as any of the above. (<http://www.tgeu.org/node/21>; accessed on 5 September 2010)

In the Brazilian context, however, ‘T’ in ‘LGBT’ commonly does not stand for ‘transgender’ as such a wide umbrella term, but for ‘*travestis*’ and ‘*transsexuais*’ as more specific groups – although

genealogies that, while relevant in many cases, are not always resonant with the concrete same-sex and transgender practices and identities engaged in the present context.

As Chapter 2 will further discuss, certain Brazilian identities like *bicha* do not easily fit prevalent categories of 'gay' or 'trans'. Furthermore, in particular the acronym 'LGBT' has a genealogy tied to governmental politics of citizenship. 'LGBT' first of all denotes a population in need of biopolitical care and securitisation. It is thus in the very deployment of 'LGBT', that queer people are already being addressed and constituted as such a population (and as sub-populations denoted by the different letters in the acronym). I am thus using 'LGBT' when referring to the governmental framework and 'queer people' in a more open sense. Where I use terms like 'lesbian', 'gay', 'transgender' or 'homosexual' in this work, I am either referring to self-identifications and discourses where these terms are deployed, or I am using them in a provisional sense for the sake of simplicity where neither 'queer' nor particular indigenous categories seem salient.

Apart from enabling greater openness, 'queer' has also come to indicate identities and practices that exceed or challenge hegemonic norms around gender and sexuality, which in turn are tied to further social norms and relations pertaining to race, colonialism and class. It is also in such a sense that Teresa de Lauretis in 1991 first coined the term 'queer studies' (see Lauretis 1991). From such a perspective, a range of identities and practices might be summoned by 'queer'. Judith Halberstam (2005) uses 'queer subjects' as referring to those who live "deliberately, accidentally, or of necessity" on the margins of the ordinary organisation of space and time, as it is functional to

in practice differences between these groups as well as the demarcation of these categories in relation to other 'trans' identities may not always be clear (Balzer 2007: 342-71). A similar point can also be made with respect to 'lesbians', 'gays' and 'bisexuals'. While these categories are meant to address first and foremost people who – at least potentially – identify with these terms, in activist practice further groups need at times to be accounted for, such as men who have sex with men without identifying as 'gay'.

capitalist accumulation. She mentions “ravers, club kids, HIV-positive barebackers, rent boys, sex workers, homeless people, drug dealers, and the unemployed” as examples.¹⁷ On the other hand, lesbians, gays or *travestis*, for instance, may affirm rather than challenge norms by striving for full integration into prevailing practices and institutions like marriage, binary gender relations, monogamy or ‘vanilla sex’. ‘Queer people’ in the sense I have been using it, in other words, may or may not inhabit ‘queerness’ in the sense of ‘challenging norms’.

There is a tension, then, between the notion of ‘queer people’ as referring primarily to same-sex and transgender practices or identities and ‘queer’ as pointing to the challenging of norms around sexuality, gender and association formations such as class or race. I consider this tension productive and do not wish to resolve it by either replacing the term ‘queer people’ with an enumerative and definitive list or by including all issues that may analytically be considered ‘queer’. As I will discuss in the following, the analytical question pertaining to the challenging of norms is of particular relevance to this project. Hence, independently of the question whether ‘queer people’ do or do not enact ‘queerness’, engaging with such ‘queer people’ opens up some specific analytical issues around norms and how they are being inhabited or challenged. The term ‘queer people’, then, allows a) to keep in focus same-sex and transgender practices and identities, while at the same time b) going beyond prevalent genealogies of ‘LGBT’ and c) introducing a focus on enactments that challenge norms around gender and sexuality as well as hegemonic organisations of space and time (in Halberstam’s sense mentioned above).

¹⁷ Halberstam (2005) explains:

Perhaps such people could productively be called ‘queer subjects’ in terms of the ways they live (deliberately, accidentally, or of necessity) during the hours when others sleep and in the spaces (physical, metaphysical, and economic) that others have abandoned, and in terms of the ways they might work in the domains that other people assign to privacy and family. (10)

Let me add a comment on the genealogy of 'queer', which is itself contested. 'Queer' as an influential analytical category has entered academia through the US American context. Not only does this posit a specific context of reference for the term that may introduce problems when being shifted to a context like the Brazilian one; in Anglo-American debates itself, 'queer' has moreover been subject to sustained critique. This critique is epitomised by de Lauretis' own distancing from the term in 1994, when she saw it as having become a "conceptually vacuous creature of the publishing industry" (1994: 297). A second line of critique, however, indicates a particular potential of the term with respect to the present context. Queer writers of Colour (e.g. Muñoz 1999) have denounced the tendency to erase in particular Black and Third World feminists' role in the genealogy of 'queer'. These Queers of Colour have found the openness of 'queer' in connection with its focus on challenging norms particular useful, as it has allowed to address identities and enactments that lie outside prevalent – and often implicitly 'white' – ones, and to address intersectional relations of power. 'Queer' in such an understanding gains its strength precisely from calling for an engagement with specific, intersecting and contingent enactments, identities and power relations. Similarly to my use of *geborgenheit*, 'queer' can thus be seen as a transitory concept that enables new kinds of questions and can shift its own meanings with a shift in contexts.

Enactments of sameness and difference

The issue of norms around gender and sexuality is addressed explicitly in Chapter 2, which calls attention to regimes of power by which formations of agency and citizenship in Brazil, and Rio de Janeiro more specifically, have been shaped. Chapter 4 builds on this account and highlights the role that

questions around complying with and exceeding norms have played for queer people in making political claims and creating positive subjective-spatial relations. As a means for addressing such issues around norms, power and possibilities to inhabit and challenge sexual and gender-related positions, I will use the notion of ‘enactments of sameness and difference’ and articulate it with the notions of ‘agency’, ‘citizenship’ and ‘geborgenheit’.

The notion of ‘enactment’ serves to highlight the contingent ways in which ‘effects’ of ‘sameness’ and ‘difference’ emerge from unfolding subjective-spatial relations and position subjects in relation to norms. Conceptually, the term ‘enactments of sameness and difference’ works as a mediating concept between the issues of affectivity, subjective-spatial relations and geborgenheit on the one hand, and questions of agency and citizenship on the other. The mediation consists in ‘refracting’ – as with a prism – questions of agency and citizenship through the focus on sameness and difference. For example, an affective dynamic of geborgenheit that allows a *travesti* in the place where she lives to claim respect may constitute a form of agency that enables new forms of citizenship and new activist practices. In Part IV, such an understanding will be utilised for exploring specific kinds of enactments of sameness and difference (e.g. ‘transgressive’, ‘respectful’, ‘caring’, or ‘agonistic’ enactments), and the role they play in the constitution of agency and citizenship. Special attention will be devoted to the question of how activist engagements around public security do or do not feature here. Let me now summarise the concrete methods and activities this research involved, and the methodological approach that has guided this engagement.

Methods and methodology

My empirical research unfolded over three research stays in Brazil of nine months in total between 2007 and 2009, and an additional month-long travel in the winter of 2009/2010. It comprised two main sets of methods, which will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 7. The first set concerned activities aimed at exploring subjective-spatial relations that unfold in the spatial context of Rio de Janeiro. This involved principally two workshop series in two parts of Rio's metropolitan area, the *Centro* (in central Rio), and the city of Nova Iguaçu in the Baixada Fluminense region adjacent to the north of the municipality of Rio de Janeiro. The aim of these workshops was to create a space for queer people of different ages, genders and races and from different spatial and class backgrounds to individually and collectively explore experiences of city and further spaces. In the context of the workshops, a number of further research activities took place, such as individual interviews with participants, city walks and informal group conversations and activities. The exploration of unfolding subjective-spatial relations moreover comprised ethnographic engagements with various spaces in Rio de Janeiro, including places of queer sociability, but also urban and suburban spaces more broadly.

The second set of methods was targeted at gaining an in-depth knowledge of activist engagements, in particular in the area of LGBT public security politics. For this purpose, interviews with 15 activists were conducted as well as participant observations at a number of activist events. Apart from these main sets of activities, interviews with police men and a private security professional were conducted, although only the latter interview is used in the

present analysis for the sake of reducing the materials and issues to be analysed and discussed.

The basic methodological approach engaged in relation to these various activities is focused on an exploration and discussion of a number of cases taken from this research. A ‘case’, as Annemarie Mol (2008) points out, can neither be easily generalised, nor is it simply local. “A case”, she notes, “is something to explore, to learn from. It is specific and surprising. Attending to it carefully may make you reconsider what you thought was clear and distinct.”

(32) Mol distinguishes the use of ‘cases’ as it was common in early modern medicine from the use of ‘examples’ in philosophical traditions, which writers “expect their readers to know about already”. In these traditions, the ‘surprise’ “is not supposed to reside in the stories it tells, but in what these are meant to illustrate: theory” (ibid.; emphasis in the original).

Cases, then, do not merely exemplify or illustrate theory. Instead, in their singularity they offer something to be theoretically and practically explored. Such exploration, as Mol points out in her article (which carries the subtitle “On theorizing subjectivities”), is inevitably embodied and troubles ideas of clearly separate subjects and objects of investigation – an imagination which, again, pervades Western philosophical traditions.¹⁸ In this respect, however, the notion of the ‘case’ is somewhat misleading, as it seems to evoke precisely the idea of something to be objectified and engaged in a rather disentangled, disembodied way – by means of a range of standards and technologies that come in between the researcher and the object so as to ward

¹⁸ Discussing a case she provided in her own text, Mol (2008) notes:

Texts may tell about an object, but they come from somewhere, too. They incorporate an author. The Western philosophical tradition favours the fantasy that this author, the subject of theory, is located outside the object of reflection. This is a voyeuristic tradition. Only from a distance may we hope to tell the truth. Only from a distance may we hope to pass a balanced judgment. Disentangled. Hands behind your back, do not get involved physically with whatever it is that you are theorizing about. Don’t touch the white woman. Don’t walk on the grass. The body of the subject of theory is not to get involved in the theorizing. (32)

off uncontrolled, bodily, interferences between subject and object. (In this respect, the genealogy of the 'case' may be closer to the kind of tradition that Mol is trying to get away from.) In order to bring out more clearly the entangled and embodied relation sustaining any engagement with 'cases', I want to complement Mol's argument with Donna Haraway's notions of 'becoming worldly' and 'attachment sites'. These notions call researchers precisely to take into account their embodied involvement as *attached* rather than *detached* actors. This implies, first of all, a responsibility for partaking in the constant re-making of the world, which can never be limited to some purified and apparently innocent space of investigation or theorisation. "The point is not," Haraway (2008) notes in some kind of echo of Karl Marx "to celebrate complexity but to become worldly and to respond" (41).¹⁹

For Haraway, such becoming responsible/response-able is inherently embodied and related to touch. Researchers are materially and semiotically drawn into contact with their sites of research and all the problematics, affects and desires played out there. This is what the notion of 'attachment sites' stands for: "Whether grasped two-by-two or tangle-by-tangle, attachment sites [...] redo everything they touch" (ibid.). The notion of 'attachment' evokes simultaneously bodily connection and affective investment. There can never be a clear line drawn between researchers and the various subjects and objects engaged in the worldly research process, and neither of them can be entirely sure of their moral or political righteousness. I suggest understanding the different 'cases' that emerge in the present project as part of such 'attachment sites'. As a researcher and embodied being, I have investments in those 'attachment sites' and care for those sites just as the various others that inhabit and relate to these sites.

¹⁹ In his "Theses on Feuerbach" Marx (1845) famously concluded: "Philosophers have hitherto only interpreted the world in various ways; the point is to change it".

A notion of *geborgenheit* as a transitory device that enables new kinds of engagement resonates with Haraway's argument and will help bringing out the affective dynamics involved in the formation of attachment sites. Chapter 7 elaborates this further in relation to the concrete methods deployed and sites and subjects involved in my research in Brazil, also calling attention to the role the notion of *aconchego* has played here. Moreover, it explicates the mode of analysis that will be deployed in Part IV of the thesis, and which focuses on a range of textual and verbal, but also pictorial, atmospheric and further kinds of expressions.

Furthermore, an interlude on 'precarious dynamics of *geborgenheit*', which is inserted between Chapter 3 and Chapter 4 and meant to provide a 'snapshot' of how agency can be approached through a focus on *geborgenheit* in the present context of research, also provides a snapshot of my own bodily entanglement and investment in the issues at stake. My concern in this research, however, is not so much to 'reflect' on my own entanglements as a means for gaining insights into the issues at stake. While such 'reflexivity' has contributed to understanding some of the dynamics that unfolded in the research process, as will for instance become clear in my discussion of workshop interactions in Chapter 7, putting too much emphasis on this issue also bears a risk of making one's own subjectivity the centre of interrogation, merely 'displacing the same elsewhere', as Haraway (1997: 16, 273) puts it. In line with Haraway, my concern is not so much with 'reflection', but rather, to use Haraway's optical metaphor, with 'diffraction', the production of 'difference patterns'.²⁰ Such an effort of 'making a difference' is more intricate than a focus on 'reflexivity' might suggest, as Gillian Rose (1997) has argued.

²⁰ Haraway (1997) notes: "Diffraction is about heterogeneous history, not about originals. Unlike reflections, diffractions do not displace the same elsewhere, in more or less distorted form [...]. Rather, diffraction can be a metaphor for another kind of critical consciousness at the end of this rather painful Christian millennium, one committed to making a difference and not to repeating the Sacred Image of Same" (273).

Attempts to reflexively describe one's own implication in the research process, she points out, often creates nothing more than an illusion of having gained an understanding of this (see also Nast 1998).²¹ Following these hesitations to indulge in reflexive accounts, I see my embodied implication in the research as present throughout its course, highlighting particular occurrences and issues only where this seems vital.

A methodological challenge as well as resource that has accompanied the entire research concerns the issue of translation. To begin with, apart from the constant translation efforts that have been involved in working in a British university as a German native-speaker, my mobilisation of *Geborgenheit* has entailed an ongoing endeavour of exploring, explicating, relating, and negotiating different semiotic fields. My very elaboration of 'geborgenheit' as analytic concept has been strongly influenced by the necessity of explicating the notion for an English-speaking audience. Engaging German and French philosophers added a further set of translation activities, as in particular my use of Walter Benjamin's work in Chapter 3 will indicate. Conducting research in a Portuguese-language context, where furthermore a range of queer, Afro-Brazilian, favela, etc. argots are used and a number of Anglo-American, francophone, Latin American and further discourses are engaged in hybrid fashion, introduced an even greater challenge. Translation activities have formed an integral part of my embodied entanglement in the sites of research and will become explicit in particular in Part IV of the thesis, where English translations of Portuguese recordings are discussed. These translation activities formed part of the very exploration and analysis of both verbal as well as nonverbal expressions, as they brought out resonances and differences in the various semiotic fields I have been situated in, pertaining to German, English,

²¹ Rose (1997) argues that aiming at a full understanding of the researcher and her or his relation to the researched and the field often stages as a counter-productive, 'transparent', kind of reflexivity.

Portuguese and a range of further contexts (on such issues of 'semiotic translation' see Dutta 2009a). While in particular in direct interactions with research participants my own limitations in understanding and being able to respond to expressions I was not familiar with formed a recurrent challenge, exploring semantic and affective resonances of expressions in many cases also fostered new insights, which has most prominently been the case in relation to the Portuguese notion of *aconchego* that is discussed in Chapter 7.

Structure of the thesis

The thesis moves from this outline of the argument and the following discussion of power relations in Rio de Janeiro to an elaboration of the conceptual framework that guides the argument in Part II. While Chapter 3 elaborates on the uses of 'geborgenheit' as an analytical concept for exploring subjective-spatial relations, Chapter 4 develops an understanding of and vocabulary for addressing emergent formations of agency, which are seen as emerging from affective subjective-spatial relations. The conceptual elaborations around agency and affect moreover involve an explication of an associated ethico-political style, which concerns the present focus on 'positive' affect (as introduced by the semantics of *Geborgenheit*) and entails an endeavour to intensify and 'affirm' positive affect – in contradistinction to focusing the analysis on 'critique' or 'deconstruction'. On the basis of this conceptual framework, Part III explores activist engagements and a number of paradoxes they have given rise to in the area of public security, aiming to bring out agentic potential arising from these paradoxes and at the same time highlighting how such potential is powerfully shaped. Continuing this exploration, Part IV draws on data from workshops and interview with

activists. It uses a focus on subjective-spatial relations and affective dynamics of *geborgenheit* and *aconchego* in order to discuss emergent formations of agency and citizenship, extending the view beyond activism.

2. POST/COLONIALITY AND QUEER LIFE IN RIO DE JANEIRO

In order to gain an understanding of how queer people's possibilities for inhabiting spaces are shaped in the spatial context of Rio de Janeiro, it seems vital to address historically developed post/colonial relations of power. The chapter starts with a discussion of the question of 'post/coloniality', pointing to the significance of intersecting relations of capitalism, racism, sexuality and gender, and highlighting in particular the 'biopolitical' dynamics that have been constitutive of such relations. It then provides an overview of some shifts in the dynamics of power in Brazil and of how these dynamics have unfolded in the spatial context of Rio de Janeiro. The second part of the chapter discusses queer cultural formations in Rio. On the one hand, it describes the emergence of new markets pertaining to a male gay lifestyle and to male and *travesti* sex work especially since the 1970s; on the other hand, it considers the emergence of queer social networks and the pluralisation of identities that have taken place in the context but also in critical distance to a gay market. The chapter ends by relating the consideration of post/colonial diagrams of power more explicitly to the present engagement with emergent formations of agency, highlighting the significance of queer communities with respect to LGBT activism and how diagrams of power shape subjective-spatial relations.

The post/coloniality of power

The question of colonialism is key to an understanding of the formations of power that have taken shape in the spatial context of Rio de Janeiro. This

question is however itself complex and contested, so I want to start my discussion with an account of the approaches that seem particularly pertinent in the present context.

Colonialism, racism, capitalism,...

Discussing colonialism in the Americas, Aníbal Quijano (2000) argues that with the emergence of America a new set of relations of production took shape around the axis of capital and the world market, which articulated labour, production and exploitation in new ways. This new capitalist regime, he points out, has deployed the codification of conquering and conquered populations in hierarchical categories of 'race', distinguishing 'Portuguese' and 'Spanish' – and later 'White' and 'European' – people from 'Indians', 'Negroes' and 'Mestizos' (216-8). The racial formation of the capitalist economy was expressed, he maintains, "in the 'racial' distribution of work, in the imposition of new 'racial' geocultural identities, in the concentration of the control of productive resources and capital, as social relations, including salary, as a privilege of 'Whiteness'" (218). Quijano argues that such a formation, which he refers to as the 'coloniality of power', has been at work in various ways and on a global scale up to the present day.²² The notion of 'coloniality' emphasises the fact that colonised states have been positioned in a relation of subordination and dependency with respect to colonised countries.²³

²² While I agree with Quijano's overall argument around the significance of racialisation, he refers to 'race' in terms of a "mental category" (2000: 216), which seems to me limited in that such a notion elides the embodied aspects of the constitution of racial differences (on this issue see for instance Saldanha 2006).

²³ This issue was picked up in particular in neo-Marxian 'dependency' and 'world systems theory' as well as in discussions of 'peripheral capitalism'. For overviews and critical discussions of these approaches and further references see Connell (2007) and Hardt and Negri (2000: 283-4).

In Brazil, which was the world's biggest importer of African slaves, racialised forms of power and inequality have been very pronounced, despite the fact that after slavery was abolished in 1888 and the republic was inaugurated in 1890 Brazilian legislation has not discriminated on the basis of 'race'. Intense 'racial mixing' even took place early throughout the colonial period, which was, however, discursively framed as a process of 'whitening' the population (see Marx 1998; Fry 2000; Nascimento 2007). Elisa Larkin Nascimento (2007: 43-50) provides an account of ongoing racist inequalities in a range of social areas (see also Lopes and Moreira 2005). She highlights that in national statistics the black population is commonly stated to be nearly 50% of Brazil's total population, but that if effects of underestimation are taken into account, it could well comprise 70 to over 80%. Nascimento also reiterates the well-known fact that the majority of Brazil's black population lives in the poorer rural areas, especially in the North and the Northeast, as well as in urban favelas. Moreover, she points out that the idea of 'racial democracy', which was made popular in particular through Gilberto Freyre's (1933/2003) book *Casa-Grande e Senzala*, and according to which Brazil, through ongoing 'racial mixture', has escaped racism, actually eclipsed the persistence of the racist project of 'whitening the nation'.

...gender, sexuality and biopolitics

Capitalist formations of race and class in the colonial context, however, have also been implicated in relations of gender and sexuality. Roderick Barman (2002) comments on patriarchal gender formations that were perpetuated from the Brazilian colonial regime further into the 19th century after Brazil declared independence in 1922. Honourable family relations were at the centre of social

relations and could be defended only by males, in particular by the head of family (i.e. husband/father). This patriarchal set-up also extended into public life, where virtually all posts were reserved to men. Barman's account offers a useful contextualisation for sexual and gender relations that in the Latin American context have commonly been referred to as *machismo*. *Machismo* refers to a binary and hierarchical order, where femininity is associated with sexual passivity and penetrability, an inferior social position, and a corresponding gender performance that is targeted at pleasing the male gaze; masculinity, on the other hand, is associated with sexual dominance and penetration, social superiority, and a gender performance that circulates around showing strength and an ability to seduce and subjugate women (for a comprehensive discussion see Girman 2004). The Mexican Octavio Paz (1962) has introduced the notion of *machismo* to social and cultural debates. Since Paz, however, the notion has often been used in abstract and universalising terms – which also led to a demonisation of Latin men in the North (Girman 2004). While binary framings of gender and sexuality have in fact played an important role in the formation of power relations and cultural articulations, they need to be understood in historical and geographic context as well as in relation to their instabilities and transformations. The colonial regime in Brazil and its aftermath provides one such context in which *machismo* historically unfolded.

In Brazil, especially until the 1960s or 70s, male homosexuality was strongly associated with a female gender position framed in terms of passivity, sexual penetrability and a subordinate social status. Terms like *bicha* refer to effeminate men who have sex with men – in particular with 'real', *macho*, men, or *bofes*, who are not necessarily seen as homosexual. '*Bicha*' and '*bofe*' are thus somewhat complementary notions. Anthropologists have argued that these notions are expressive of a binary ordering of male gender and sexuality that enables the organisation of male same-sex relations within the same

hierarchical matrix as heterosexual relations (see Green 1999: 6). As James Green notes:

According to this model, in traditional same-sex erotic activities, the *homem*, or in slang terms, the *bofe* ('real' man), takes the 'active' role in the sexual act and anally penetrates his partner. The effeminate male (*bicha*) is 'passive' and is anally penetrated. The latter's sexual 'passivity' ascribes him the socially inferior position of the 'woman'. While the sexually penetrated 'passive' male is stigmatized, the male who assumes the public (and presumably private) role of the *homem* who penetrates is not. (Ibid; see also Parker 1999: 28-46)

While the complementarity of *bicha* and *bofe* enables a social intelligibility of homosexual relations, these relations are nonetheless subject to stigmatisation directed in particular at the *bicha*, who simultaneously is and is not a man, but potentially also at the *bofe*, as Steven Murray (1995: 59) has argued. In the second half of the 20th century, homosexual identities diversified, as will be further elaborated later on, and 'sexual orientation' tended to be seen as independent of (effeminate) gender performance.

Ann Stoler (2002) points out the various fields in which a consideration of gendered power relations has been important in colonial contexts, mentioning feminist debates that "have sought to explain how changes in household organization, the sexual division of labor, and the gender-specific control of resources within it have modified and shaped how colonial appropriations of land, labor, and resources were obtained" (41). The significance of gender relations is also highlighted by Anne McClintock (1995), who discusses how the colonial industrial order has been premised on a "conquest of the sexual and labor power of colonized women" (3), which, simultaneously, involved intense processes of racialisation. In the Brazilian context, Barman (2002) discusses, in a similar vein, the role of *morena* (dark)

women, who were the offspring of sexual relations the predominantly male Portuguese settlers maintained with African women. *Morenas* were ascribed a central function in the cultural 'whitening' of the empire, which was an integral part of the colonial project and still persisted after. Stoler (2002), in her discussion of Dutch, French and English imperial cultures makes a resonating point when she argues that administrative and medical discourses around European sexual activity, reproduction and marriage, have been framed around racial distinctions that "were fundamentally structured in gendered terms" (42).

The significance of such administrative and medical, as well as criminological, discourses, indicates the role that concerns with the reproduction, health and order of both colonised and colonising populations have played in the post/colonial exercise of power. McClintock (1995) addresses the question of social order, which was expressed in particular in the identification and control of 'dangerous classes'. Race, she argues, was formative of how various groups were subjected to control: "The invention of race [...] became central [...] to the policing of the 'dangerous classes': the working class, the Irish, Jews, prostitutes, feminists, gays and lesbians, criminals, the militant crowd and so on" (5). Her statement also suggests that the colonialist concern with sexuality and 'perversion' presents a particular moment in the policing of 'dangerous classes', as well as in the constitution of the 'coloniality of power' itself (see also Arondekar 2000). With respect to the Brazilian context, James Green (1999) discusses how in medical and criminological discourses of the late 19th and early 20th century 'perversion' and 'racial degeneracy' were associated. Brazilian scientists, moreover, reinvigorated the *macho* framing, associating male 'perversion' not only with 'homosexuality', but also with sexual passivity and effeminate gender performance. Discourses around perverse sexuality, the inferior positioning of the female gender, and

the degenerate race of colonised and slave populations were thus mutually constitutive of each other.

The discussions indicate a particular set of technologies through which, especially from the 19th century onwards, power relations were constituted in Brazil and elsewhere. These technologies pertain to medical, criminological and administrative discourses and associated forms of control that target the reproduction, health and order of the population. Michel Foucault (1976/1998; 2008) has used the term 'biopolitics' (which has already been mentioned in Chapter 1) to address such discourses and forms of control directed at the population or the 'species body'. Foucault's notion is particularly insightful as it helps in conceptualising the concrete dynamics of power involved in making the population itself an object of political intervention – a process that, Foucault argues, took shape in the 19th century in Western Europe, but which can also be seen in a post/colonial context like Brazil. The 'species body' of the population, Foucault (2008) argues, is constituted as "imbued with the mechanisms of life and serving as the basis of the biological processes: propagation, births and mortality, the level of health, life expectancy and longevity, with all the conditions that can cause these to vary" (139). This focus on "the mechanisms of life", Foucault argues, is precisely what defines the specificity of 'biopolitical' forms of power, as life itself becomes the central issue. Chapter 5 will introduce Foucault's ideas in more detail. What is important in the present context is that endeavours of administering and managing populations can be seen as playing a constitutive role with respect to the racialised, gendered and sexual relations of post/colonial power.²⁴ It could

²⁴ Foucault himself has not elaborated in any detail on the connection between biopolitics and post/colonial relations of capitalism and race, and instead focused on how sexuality has been constituted with respect to Western subjects. Stoler (2002) critically discusses limitations of Foucault's writing in this respect, indicating simultaneously the significance of dynamics of colonialism and race as concerns biopolitics.

be further examined how such biopolitical processes also help constituting capitalist power relations, but this is beyond the scope of my account.

Foucault's approach is also relevant in another respect, as his analysis of biopolitics is situated within a project of re-thinking power more broadly. In particular, his notion of the 'diagram' helps conceptualising the dynamics of power at stake here. I thus want to specify what I mean by 'post/coloniality of power' by making use of Foucault's notion. Moreover, the term 'post/coloniality' itself needs further consideration.

The 'diagram' of post/coloniality

The arguments of writers like Stoler, McClintock or Green indicate how in various colonial contexts capitalist power relations have been articulated with biopolitical concerns of managing populations, their productivity and their lives. Issues like racial, gendered and sexual difference have been constituted by, and constitutive of, both capitalist and biopolitical regimes of power. I hence want to extend Quijano's argument and conceive of what he calls the 'coloniality of power' as an ensemble of interlocking regimes of capitalism and biopolitics that mobilise formations of racialised, gendered and sexual difference. While my aim here is not to analyse such formations in any detail, this understanding can serve as a conceptual framework for addressing concrete powerful processes that have taken shape in the spatial context of Rio de Janeiro.

Moreover, the term 'coloniality' might be misleading in the Brazilian case, as with the demise of the colonial system new power relations took shape, even if the old ones did not simply disappear. Using the term 'postcoloniality' would, however, also be misleading. As McClintock (1995) has pointed out

along with other writers, this term “marks history as a series of stages along an epochal road from ‘the precolonial’, to ‘the colonial’, to ‘the postcolonial’ – an unbidden, if disavowed, commitment to linear time and the idea of development” (10). In order to create a distance from such linear historicity I am using the expression ‘post/colonial’, which is meant to indicate the complex relationships between the ‘colonial’ and ‘postcolonial’ formations of power.

Foucault’s (1975/1995) conception of the ‘diagram’ – and in particular Deleuze’s (1986/2006) and Deleuze and Guattari’s (1980/2004) readings of it – seem particularly useful for understanding post/colonial regimes of power. Foucault (1975/1995) has developed the notion of the ‘diagram’ most famously in relation to his analyses of the ‘panopticon’ as a regime of power.²⁵ The panopticon, Foucault argues, establishes a relation of power that functions not through direct force or commands transmitted through a hierarchical order, but rather by inciting subjects to control themselves, and possibly each other. The focus of analysis is thus on complex relations between technologies such as an architectural device and their concrete effects. Foucault’s elaborations around power and the diagram have opened up new ways of understanding power, in particular in two respects. Firstly, power is not posited as essentially restricting. Instead, diagrams of power can be understood as *enabling* particular enactments and subject positions, yet in so doing, as simultaneously *shaping* these enactments and positions in certain ways. Secondly, the exercise of power, in a Foucauldian understanding, is not necessarily tied to oppositional and monolithic conflicts between domination and resistance, but rather to concrete technologies and strategies. ‘Resistance’, in this view, needs to be seen in complex interaction with power, as moments of resistance emerge in the

- ²⁵ Foucault (1975/1995) analyses the architectural structure of the ‘Panopticon’ proposed by Jeremy Bentham in the late 18th century. This structure, which consists of an observation tower situated in the middle of a prison, factory or school, enabled the observer to observe at a glance numerous individuals. These individuals, in turn could not see the observer, which incited them to constantly police themselves.

context of relations of power. Foucault (1976/1998) argues even that power “depends on a multiplicity of points of resistance” that “play the role of adversary, target, support, or handle in power relations” (95). Diagrams of power, then, are based on a complex interplay of power and resistance, with ‘resistance’ not simply being ‘external’ to power.

What Deleuze (1986/2006) highlights in particular, however, is that whilst diagrams establish relatively fixed relations of power – or what he calls ‘relations of forces’ – they do not exhaust these forces. These forces are rather excessive with respect to diagrams in that they always also summon unforeseen and potentially paradoxical effects. The Deleuzian approach will be elaborated in more detail in Chapter 4. What is important here is that the notion of the diagram can be used to bring out hegemonic formations of power without thereby positing power as totalising or making abstract judgments on the concrete effects power unfolds in practice. As will become clearer as this chapter unfolds, such an understanding is vital for discussions of queer cultural articulations, which have taken shape in the context of power diagrams, yet have also shaped formations of agency in novel ways. I now want to provide a brief outline of some shifts in Brazilian formations of power over the past century, in order to provide a context for discussing the post/coloniality of power in Rio de Janeiro.

Formations of power in Brazil

With the decline of the Portuguese empire and independence in the early 19th century, British influence grew stronger and colonial power was transposed into a post/colonial arrangement. Power diagrams pertaining to capitalism, racism, gender and sexuality were in part rearticulated, yet did not simply cease

to exist. With modernisation and industrialisation, in particular since the late 19th century, new power dynamics emerged, and an industrial bourgeoisie gained increasing influence. I will start by discussing these developments that have occurred in the context of modernisation, and which lead up to the military dictatorship that came to power in 1964. I will then address the process of neoliberalisation that started in the 1980s and intensified in the 1990s and indicate its connection to persistent inequalities, which in turn have shaped lifestyles in uneven ways. In my account – which will be cursory so as to enable a focus on the issues most relevant here – I interweave historical accounts in particular of Abreu (1988: 71, 93-4), Marx (1998: 158-77), Miskolci (2009), Nascimento (2007), and Parker (1999: 102-123), citing particular authors only where more specific arguments are referred to.

Modernisation and the military dictatorship

With industrialisation, the abolition of slavery and urbanisation from the late 19th century onwards capitalist relations of exchange and production changed, and an expanding industrial bourgeoisie grew strong (Abreu 1988). At the same time, the USA gained increasing economic influence. Blacks and women occupied underprivileged positions in this process. Eugenic racist discourses got furthermore articulated with existing ideologies, re-staging the ‘whitening’ of the Brazilian nation as a biopolitical aim (Marx 1998; Nascimento 2007). The Great Depression of the 1930s and 40s, followed by World War II, lead up to a state-driven politics of ‘modernisation’ and ‘development’, -which boosted the industrial elites, together with a small but influential middle-class that maintained strong links to the military (Abreu 1988; Parker 1999). These politics also enabled the financial bourgeoisie to gain increasing economic

power and, moreover, fostered ties between urban elites and the rural oligarchy as well as elite sectors of the North Atlantic economies. In the early 60s, however, the Brazilian economy – which had taken shape in a relation of dependency with respect to the North Atlantic all along – became increasingly unable to offer both urban and rural workers adequate employment opportunities. In an effort to maintain the course of ‘development’ without fundamentally changing power relations among different segments of the population, the military, backed by the USA as well as local elites and the middle class, seized power in 1964, aiming to project the Brazilian economy into the modern capitalist system by means of massive, loan-funded, investments. A military regime thus started that would last until 1985.

At the same time, the state enacted a national security doctrine, which subjected not only alleged political opponents, but also poor and marginalised people and various forms of public expression to rigid control and repression. With the suspension of the 1946 Constitution in 1968 and the take-over of power of the rightist hardliner Emílio Médici (1969-74), press censorship got enforced, resistance by students and others was violently countered and persecutions, torture and killings of opponents as well as marginalised groups took place (even if, as historians point out, violence did not reach the levels of the Argentinean dictatorship of the time). Through the regime’s action, a racialised regime of exploitation was reinforced on the national scale. As Anthony Marx (1998) notes: “The very concept of race was effectively banned as an enemy of national security” (ibid.). The military regime was also a major reason for the fact that critiques of exploitative gender relations that were articulated in the 60s in Western Europe and the USA in the new feminist wave were not formulated on a comparable scale in Brazil, where a political feminist movement only emerged in the mid 70s, in the context of growing anti-dictatorship activism. A similar dynamic was at play in relation to a gay

movement, which started taking shape only in the mid 70s (Facchini 2007; Green 1999).

The loan-funded boost of the economy led to the so-called 'economic miracle' (*milagre econômico*) in the late 60s and early 70s, a steep increase in economic growth, which was accompanied by new forms of consumerism, but also by a further concentration of income and poverty. Moreover, with the 1973 OPEC oil embargo, a major recession kicked in, forcing the military regime to make extensive international debts. From the mid 70s, the government started a process of opening up the economy to foreign trade and competition (which was framed in terms of 'structural adjustment'), which simultaneously entailed a certain democratisation of relations of production²⁶. Moreover, this process involved an opening up of the political system, which resulted in the establishment of the democratic system in 1985. With emergent discourses of 'democratisation' and 'citizenship', and a revaluation of 'civil society', a management of relations of gender, race and sexuality started to become part of the governmental process itself (Dagnino 2005). Chapter 4 will discuss this issue further in relation to the politics of 'LGBT citizenship'.

Neoliberalisation and changing lifestyles

As a response to massive problems of inflation that ensued in the 1980s and early 90s from the debts that had been made, the Collor and especially the Cardoso administrations (1990-92 and 1995-2002, respectively) issued radical programs of neoliberalisation, privatising state-owned industries, integrating Brazil into global market networks and reducing public spending in social welfare. A post-fordist restructuring of production also took place, although

²⁶ On this issue see Silva (1994).

authoritarian forms of management and structural characteristics like great difference of income and regional differences have persisted, which is why some have talked about the combination of post-fordism with a form of 'nostalgic fordism' (Silva 1994: 114-5). While since the 1990s overall wealth is reported to have increased, the middle-class has widened and social inequalities have, according to some indices, slightly diminished especially during Lula da Silva's government, the country still counts among those in the world with the least fair distribution of wealth and income, and new forms of marginality have emerged in the wake of neoliberal politics (McCann 2008).

In the present context, Parker's (1999) comments on changing lifestyles in Brazil over the 20th century are particularly important, as they indicate the uneven ways in which these lifestyles have taken shape in relation to queer people. Parker points out similarities between changes in Brazil on the one hand and Western Europe and the United States on the other, where individuals have become increasingly able to lead their lives independently of broader family structures (116). He goes on to emphasise that these transformations have taken shape in the context of relations of power that create different possibilities for enacting certain lifestyles. He discusses in particular processes that have been referred to as 'dependent development' and which are related to the fact that economic, political and social processes in Brazil have, ever since the times of colonialism, been marked by power relations between 'central' countries of the North Atlantic and 'peripheral' countries of the Global South (and East) (see above, note 22). Along with several other authors, Parker argues that the intense forms of neoliberalisation that have taken shape in Brazil have grown out of precisely such relations of 'dependency'. Linking these issues of inequalities – which are related to what I call post/colonial diagrams of power – to changing lifestyles, Parker points out, for instance, that the emergence of a 'gay' identity on a global scale became

associated with social status (118). Gay men have, moreover, been much more associated – discursively and materially – with this lifestyle than lesbians or trans people. The significance of a ‘gay economy’ will be further discussed later on.

Post/colonial power in Rio de Janeiro

In order to call attention to the – often paradoxical – ways in which post/colonial diagrams have shaped spatial dynamics in Rio de Janeiro, I want to mention some historical events and conjunctures that have unfolded in this context and that seem to me of particular significance for the present discussion. The question of spatial segregation plays a key role here as well as biopolitical regimes of control targeting, among other subjects, homosexual and effeminate men and trans people.

Segregation and biopolitical control

In the last decades of the 19th century, the city of Rio de Janeiro, functioning as Brazil’s capital and featuring Brazil’s main port as well as new rail and tram lines, grew to a population of almost 300.000 in the mid 70s and nearly one million in 1900 (Godfrey 1991: 28). Its formerly affluent central areas became increasingly occupied by commercial industries, which caused the elites to move towards the South Zone districts of Flamengo and Botafogo, and later Copacabana, Ipanema and Leblon (the latter ones also getting popular due to their proximity to the open ocean). Brazilian geographer Maurício de Abreu (1988), in his classical monograph *Evolução Urbana do Rio de Janeiro* (Urban

Evolution of Rio de Janeiro), points out the class-related dynamics of this process: “[T]he noble services and classes head towards the districts served by trams (especially towards those in the South Zone), while the ‘dirty’ industries and less privileged classes go to the suburbs.” (37) The linkage of this spatial segregation to the colonial regime shows in the fact that these ‘noble classes’ were the heirs of the colonial empire – white families of coffee plantation owners that had grown economically strong in the times of slavery, and an expanding, white, industrial bourgeoisie that was partly composed of new European immigrants and that colonised on established social power relations. Former slaves and their descendents, many of whom started to migrate to Rio from the Northeast and other parts of Brazil, were the ones going to the suburbs.

Spatial divisions were exacerbated in the early 20th century, when, in the context of an increase in export activities, the mayor Francisco Pereira Passos (1904-06) commanded the city’s biggest urban development project to that date – and an intense biopolitical intervention at the same time. Passos, who admired Baron Haussmann’s work, aspired to turn Rio into a ‘tropical Paris’. Apart from numerous beautification and sanitation works he ordered the widening of streets as well as the building of new ones, including two broad boulevards – the later Avenida Rio Branco in the *Centro* district and the Avenida Beira Mar leading from the *Centro* to Botafogo (Abreu 1988: 59-67; Godfrey 1991: 28-9; Green 1999: 18). Thousands of tenements of poorer, predominantly black, people were demolished in the process, dislocating many residents to the North Zone, but also giving rise to the formation of favelas on hills located in the *Centro*. Moreover, the Passos administration collaborated with federal public-health authorities, under the direction of Oswaldo Cruz, who directed a campaign to rid the city in particular of yellow fever, which included the obligatory inoculation of the entire population. Despite riots and

protests against the government's actions, the project was carried on and declared complete in 1906. Soon, after, Rio de Janeiro became known as *cidade maravilhosa*, the 'marvellous city' (Green 1999: 18).

As Green (1999: 19-28) mentions, several arrests of men relating erotically with other men or cross-dressing occurred around the turn of the century, a time when religious morals were very pronounced, and simultaneously medical and criminological discourses around 'sexual perversion' proliferated. Male 'homosexuality', as one form of 'sexual perversion', was conceived here within a framework of *machismo*, in terms of sexual penetrability and female gender performance. *Fresco* was a word used for men regarded as effeminate and sexually penetrable (27-31). Penetrating and 'masculine' men who had sex with men, by contrast, were not necessarily conceived as homosexuals, although, as Green notes, these discourses were in themselves far from consistent. He also points out that in particular poor people became subject to public control, and that, as has already been mentioned, 'sexual perversion' was interlinked with 'racial degeneration' (121-26).

Classist and racist segregation thus went hand-in-hand with intensifying biopolitical forms of controlling and managing metropolitan populations. However, manifestations of 'disorder', as perceived by the elites, did not cease to exist. Prostitution continued downtown, thefts occurred, poor people of colour peddled their goods on the streets, and "men who enjoyed sex with men tenaciously clung to several sites in the city center that they had appropriated as public places to find sexual partners and socialize with friends" (ibid.). In fact, Rio's downtown Lapa district, which had also undergone urban renewal, became a vibrant nightlife district with numerous theatres, cabarets and bars, and sex workers catering to both affluent and modest clientele were so popular with people from well-connected families that the regulation of

prostitution remained sporadic. Men desiring other men “took advantage of the loosened morals in this part of the city to procure pleasure for themselves” (25).

While Green’s account indicates how concerns with sexuality and gender accompanied the post/colonial reshaping of Rio de Janeiro, it also testifies to the paradoxical and unstable ways in which diagrams of power unfolded. Apparently ostracised practices like female and male sex work nonetheless proliferated, and subjects marked as deviant seemed to joyfully exploit or inhabit not only the spaces where such practices were enacted, but also their own position of deviance. The spatial dynamics of segregation, control, resistance and desire unfolding in Rio de Janeiro were thus shaped by a complex articulation of (racist, gendered and sexualised) post/colonial regimes of capitalism and governmentality, but unfolded in often paradoxical ways.

In the years leading up to the 15 year presidency of Getúlio Vargas (first initiated in 1930), spatial segregation in Rio increased even further. This was related to a stronger integration of Brazil into the world market, which went along with intensifying industrialisation, urbanisation, and migratory flows to the federal district (Abreu 1988: 71-91). Passos’ reform was followed by urban reform programs that pushed towards restructuring the *Centro* and South Zone, yet economised on the poorer North and West Zones, where more and more of the industrial workers lived. Moreover, the Baixada Fluminense region, which is adjacent to the north of the city of Rio (and where part of my empirical research was conducted), started to become physically interlinked with Rio. This was the beginning of the formation of the city’s metropolitan region. In particular between 1930 and 50, the population in the Baixada Fluminense region grew dramatically. The big coffee plantations that had emerged there in the colonial period got divided into lots where, after

WWII and with the cultivation of oranges, one of the country's biggest agricultural industries was established.

While new train lines were built so as to grant workers from suburbs and the *Baixada* access to the *Centro*, favelas started to be seen as a 'social and aesthetic problem' (Abreu 1988: 87, see also Lanz 2004: 36-7). Several hills in the *Centro* that had become favela territories were destroyed, and provisional estates were constructed that were accompanied by moralistic 're-educational programs'. With further massive urban growth between the 1930s and the mid 60s, the great distance of workers to the central areas became economically problematic, however, which, according to Abreu (1988), fostered not only a proliferation of favelas in both central and semi-peripheral areas at that time, but some governmental toleration, also in connection to the fact that, in the context of political populism, favela populations formed important voting bodies (95, 106-7). Clientelistic relations took shape, establishing relations of dependency between 'rulers' and 'people' that had direct connections to the colonial period and were enacted not only by state authorities and politicians, but also by the Catholic church (Lanz 2004: 38-9). On the other hand, as Stephan Lanz summarises, in the 40s favela residents began organising in response to demolition plans. Yet, in 1960, the new governor Carlos Lacerda, after an initial attempt to set up a participatory system of state control, started a clearance program (*'Programa de Remoção'*; 40).

Intensification of segregation and control under Médici

An historical conjunction that is of particular significance in the present context is the military dictatorship, and especially the years of the Médici regime (1969-74), as under this regime segregation and control intensified, yet

– somewhat paradoxically – new cultural expressions pertaining to queer life also emerged.

With the end of the populist era and the military coup d'état in 1964, spatial segregation in Rio de Janeiro (which in 1960 ceased to be Brazil's capital) took on much more overt and violent forms. On the one hand gigantic investments were made in the South Zone district of Copacabana and real estate speculation was encouraged further southwest along the ocean front (towards São Conrado and Barra da Tijuca), and on the other a politics of eradicating favelas was carried out, especially of those situated in the South Zone (Abreu 1988: 125).

At the same time, gay and trans people suffered intensified control, especially if they publicly enacted non-normative sexual and gendered practices. Public meeting and cruising places were closed down or subjected to repression. Green (1999) reports on an arrest of numerous gay and trans people in a São Paulo shopping mall in 1969 and of twenty-five *travestis* wearing women's bikinis on Rio's Flamengo Beach in 1972 (246, 251). The situation was most difficult for people who had less economic freedom to enter privatised spaces – often women and blacks – as well as for people who challenged reinvigorated norms of *machismo* through their everyday gender performance. *Travestis* were often confronted with both of these issues, as Carsten Balzer (2007) extensively documents. According to a gay hairdresser that Balzer spoke to, in these days “it sufficed to look ‘feminine’ for being arrested as a suspect” (316). ‘Looking feminine’ in the 60s and 70s for many young men, or trans women, was not only something occasionally performed through dress or make-up used on special occasions, but became a new kind of ‘fashion’ that for some involved using hormones for growing breasts (317). This also indicates, however, that while forms of control intensified, new cultural articulations emerged at the same time, which also needs to be

understood on the backdrop of the mentioned *milagre econômico* that started in the late 1960s. The proliferation of new cultural articulations and lifestyles especially from the 1970s onwards had effects with respect to queer life that will be discussed in the last part of this chapter.

Contemporary manifestations of inequality

Between the time when Brazil's capital was shifted to Brasília in 1960 and the early 90s, Rio de Janeiro's economic power declined and poverty increased (Tolosa 1996). While during the past two decades the economic situation became more stable, this trend was not substantially reverted. At the same time, Rio de Janeiro grew constantly, turning the city into what urban scholars term a 'megacity' – even if population growth rates also dropped significantly after 1960 (ibid.). In 2007, the metropolitan region (which was formally constituted in 1973) comprised an estimated 11.3 million inhabitants (Fundação CIDE 2008). With increasing poverty and social inequality, and with a further opening up of the Brazilian economy, spatial segregation between richer and poorer, lighter- and darker-skinned, people has become ever more pronounced.

Since the 1980s, particular manifestations of violence also intensified and gained discursive presence, in particular manifestations of what has been called 'urban violence'. While these manifestations need to be understood in the context of social inequalities, the ways in which they have been discursively framed can themselves be seen in the context of relations of power. This section considers contemporary manifestations of segregation and violence, paying special attention to the ways in which violence has been made visible

und intelligible (an issue that in Part III is discussed further in relation to 'homophobic violence').

Segregation on multiple scales

Most starkly, effects of segregation can be seen in the proliferation of favelas. If the 1960 census suggested a number of 147 favelas with around 335.036 inhabitants in the municipality (Abreu 1988: 125), making up around 10% of the municipality's population, on the basis of the 2000 census 513 favelas (referred to as 'sectors of subnormal agglomeration') have been counted, making up 20% of the population.²⁷ Today's number of favelas, however, needs to be estimated somewhere near the number of 1000. Not only have new favelas emerged during the past decades but accounts of their number also vary depending on how their boundaries are demarcated.²⁸ What is particularly telling apart from the exact number of favelas and their inhabitants, however, is the fact that favelas have, during the past decades, proliferated in particular in Rio's North and West Zones, thus exacerbating spatial cleavages in relation to the richer *Centro* and South Zones – which now include the smallest proportion of favela territory. Moreover, favela residents are still predominantly darker-skinned. In this context, it also needs to be considered that while some favelas, especially those in or closer to the South Zone, have had an influx of people from the lower-middle class, acquired considerable urban infrastructure and gained various educational and social projects, others are marked by very low standards (Souza 2000: 193). There are thus big

²⁷ See <http://www.favelatemmemoria.com.br>, accessed 8 Feb. 2010.

²⁸ Already in 1999, 750 favelas were identified through the use of satellite images (Cavallieri & Peres Lopez 2006). A project of Rio's city government specialised on irregular and precarious settlements (SABREN) currently lists 1021 favelas, based on more recent satellite images (<http://portalgeo.rio.rj.gov.br/sabren/index.htm>; accessed on 19 Feb 2010).

differences between – and in part also within – favelas with respect to the quality of habitation and social and cultural integration.

Complementary to a growing landscape of favelas, since the 1980s, the upper middle-class South Zone districts of Leblon, Ipanema and Jardim Botânico have expanded and received further development. Moreover, exclusive neighbourhoods and housing estates inhabited by self-segregating urban elites have emerged, most prominently in the Barra da Tijuca district, further down the coastline. A multitude of apartment towers with gates and private security have been constructed, featuring swimming pools and fitness and party facilities (Souza 2000: 200-16). The district of Copacabana has meanwhile become more mixed in socioeconomic terms, as an influx of poorer sectors seeking social mobility got mixed with middle-class life (Parker 1999: 141).

Segregations, however, have also intensified on other scales. The number of homeless people, or street dwellers (*moradores de rua*), in the *Centro* and South Zones have greatly increased during the past decades.²⁹ While an NGO sector has developed in response, state agents as well as para-policing groups have made various – sometimes very brutal – efforts to ‘clean’ certain areas. The ongoing, and intensifying, coexistence of informal markets and forms of labour in different parts of Rio’s metropolitan area with more formal ones is another expression of how social and economic disparities are juxtaposed on multiple scales, sometimes characterising entire districts and zones, sometimes manifesting within districts on the micro-scales of streets and individuals. With the neoliberal reforms of the 1990s, informal and precarious forms of labour as well as unemployment increased (Souza 2000: 184-93).

²⁹ In a mapping by Rio’s Social Welfare Office in 2008, around 2000 street residents were counted in the central and dock areas (<http://www.fomezero.gov.br/noticias/prefeitura-do-rio-contabiliza-dois-mil-moradores-de-rua-na-cidade>; accessed on 7 July 2010).

In parts of the West Zone and Baixada Fluminense, forms of segregation have also intensified. An example is provided by the city of Nova Iguaçu in the Baixada Fluminense, where part of the empirical research for this project was carried out. While the city boasts expanding middle-class neighbourhoods and urban renewal programs, forming an alternative to the ever more expensive South Zone districts for some, the city and its surroundings in general are simultaneously marked by persistent poverty and low degrees of urban infrastructure (Alves 2003; Simões 2007).

Violence and its discursive framing

When discussing ‘violence’ one has to keep in mind not only that this is, as Nancy Scheper-Hughes and Philippe Bourgois (2004) note, a “slippery concept” (1), but also, as they further note, that violence cannot easily be ‘known’ (2).³⁰ The ways in which violence is discursively framed also evoke particular effects. Certain forms of violence are deemed ‘legitimate’ and are hence politically asserted, while others – or the same forms but from a different angle – are denounced as unjust, inhumane, unacceptable, etc.. The concrete ways of framing violence, however, are often contested, as they are tied up with formations of power and interest. I thus want to highlight a number of acute manifestations of violence as well as discourses that have endowed these manifestations with particular forms of intelligibility and given rise to certain practices and technologies. The discussion of post/colonial diagrams of power and uneven racial, gendered and sexual relations has already

³⁰ Scheper-Hughes and Bourgois note: “It [violence] cannot be readily objectified and quantified so that a ‘check list’ can be drawn up with positive criteria for defining any particular act as violent or not.” (2004: 2) The authors mention different ways in which various ‘violent’ acts can become glorified or condemned, recognised or ignored.

indicated relations of what is commonly called ‘structural violence’ (which is close to a notion of ‘social injustice’). Here, I want to focus on ‘violence’ in the more narrow sense of concrete forms of inflicting harm, although both aspects cannot easily be separated. I will start with discussing manifestations of ‘urban violence’ with a focus on Rio de Janeiro and then comment on forms of racist violence. Forms of ‘homophobic violence’ have also gained increasing discursive presence since the 1980s, but this issue will be addressed separately in Part III.

‘Urban Violence’

A number of concrete manifestations of violence have emerged or intensified since the 1980s. While in the 1970s, in the context of struggles against the military dictatorship, concerns with state violence were high on the agenda in public (and ‘counter-public’) debate, since the 1980s discourses around ‘urban violence’ proliferated. In particular, Rio de Janeiro’s favelas have become what can be called national spectacles of ‘urban violence’, which bears some resemblance to the way in which Brazil has been proclaimed the world champion in killing homosexuals by the Brazilian LGBT movement (see Ch. 1). With the intensification of drug and arms trafficking – both of which acquired new dynamics in particular with the shift from marijuana to cocaine trade in the 1990s – not only have conflicts between different drug gangs that colonise a great number of favelas become ever more protracted and bloody, but the extent of martial police interventions, as part of what is called the ‘war against drug trafficking’, has also increased (Souza 2008).³¹

³¹ Chapter 6 comments further on killings and torture committed by the police in Rio de Janeiro.

As the Brazilian geographer Marcelo Lopes de Souza (2008) points out in his book *Fobópolis* (meaning ‘phobopolis’ or ‘city of fear’), favela conflicts related to drug trafficking are now commonly framed in a language of ‘civil war’. While the armed conflicts indeed show characteristics of war, such a framing also has certain effects. To begin with, it isolates particular actors involved in the conflict – like military police forces and the small component of wider trafficking networks that is based in favelas – from the wider context in which they are situated. The very staging of opposed warring parties also elides important issues like the complicity of the police in trafficking through corruption and arms trading. Moreover, the racialised association of favela denizens with disorder and crime is reinvigorated, which affects in particular young black men. The ways in which favela denizens are affected by armed conflicts are thus complex. They include not only killings and direct effects of violent clashes, but are also related to the wider formations of power in which such clashes happen as well as to a spectacularised representation of conflicts.

Souza’s point is not to present violence as ‘merely’ discursive. However, he is wary of certain discursive framings of problems, which make contingent kinds of interventions seem unavoidable – not unlike the discursive dynamics at play in the staging of a ‘homophobic nightmare’, although the case of ‘urban violence’ is also different. Souza focuses in particular on the efficacy of proliferating fears and discourses of fear. With his notion of ‘phobopolis’ he wants to address “cities in which fear and the perception of growing risk, from the angle of public security, assume an ever more prominent position in conversations, news sections in the press, etc.” (9) This prominence of fear and risk, he argues, “is related in complex ways to various phenomena of the defensive, preventive or repressive variant, effectuated by the state or civil society – which has clear implications in terms of urban development and democracy (in a broad sense)” (9). Souza is especially concerned with an

exclusive reliance on state systems of security for addressing social problems and with the extensive mobilisation of militarised responses in cities like Rio de Janeiro. But when Souza talks about a 'phobopolis' he is also thinking about the fears of the upper and middle classes, which, according to some surveys, generally express greater feelings of insecurity than poorer people, although they are less affected by the forms of violence they state to be afraid of. Not only do such fears fuel the militarised and state-centric responses critiqued by Souza, it also sustains a proliferation of private and informal security services and other defence mechanisms, which themselves form part of power relations.

Racist violence

Racist forms of violence and their discursive framing have also acquired new dynamics since the 1980s. Since the time when a Brazilian black movement (*Movimento Negro Unificado Contra a Discriminação Racial*, MNU) was formed in the late 1970s, public attention to problems of racism has increased (Moura 1989). Several institutional measures have also been taken in order to counter racism, most prominently the criminalisation of race-related anti-discrimination in the Constitution of 1988. Nonetheless, a discourse of 'racial democracy' that eclipses racism persists (Nascimento 2007). A great problem in cities like Rio de Janeiro are killings committed by the police. Studies made with respect to Rio de Janeiro have shown that blacks are not only searched by the police more frequently than whites, but also run a disproportionately high risk of being killed by them – which seems not to be attributable to the fact alone that blacks form a greater share of poorer areas than whites (Lopes and Moreira 2005: 90-2). Young black men run by far the highest risk of being murdered.

Black people also form a disproportionately great share of the prison population (94).

Queer cultural formations in Rio de Janeiro

So far, I have addressed various forms of segregation, control and violence that have unfolded in the spatial context of Rio de Janeiro. It could be further considered how the regimes of control that got enforced during the military dictatorship were or were not transformed with the establishment of liberal democracy in the mid 1980s. Of particular relevance in the present context is the emergence of biopolitical technologies that target the 'LGBT population' and the enhancement of their 'citizenship'. The role of these technologies, however, will be discussed in relation to 'governmental activism' and the LGBT politics of public security in Chapters 5 and 6. I now want to provide an overview of the cultural practices and expressions relating to queer subjects that have emerged within the post/colonial context of segregation and control. The formation of what can be called 'erotic markets' that are related to consumerism, lifestyle as well as sex work and that have been most pronounced in the cities of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo play an important role here. Due to the focus of the present research, I will concentrate on Rio de Janeiro.

New Erotic Markets: sex work and 'pink economy'

Especially during the 1970s, when the military regime was still in power, gay saunas and discos proliferated in Brazilian metropolises (Green 1999: 248-50).

At around the same time, a market of male and *travesti* sex work emerged, that, apart from entering various kinds of gay meeting places, spread in particular along a number of streets in Brazil's metropolises (Balzer 2007: 320-2; Green 1999: 250-5). It is noteworthy that these developments took place during a time of harsh repression and control. With respect to the male gay club and leisure scene, Green (1999) conjectures that "the social territory of steam rooms and dance floors was relatively insignificant" in the eyes of the military regime, which confined censorship largely to literary and artistic expressions (248). Moreover, he points out, already the two previous decades "had witnessed increased tolerance for manifestations of homosexuality, as long as they remained in enclosed spaces and escaped from these semi-clandestine venues only once a year during the pre-Lenten festivities of Carnival" (248-9).

New markets and forms of homosociality and consumerism thus emerged that were able to align to an extent with hegemonic norms, and in particular with the forms of consumerism that the economic politics of the military regime fostered: "As more gay-oriented consumer options became available in the 1960s and '70s, the social and economic tensions within the homosexual subcultures of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo merely mirrored general social trends" (284). While a number of establishments in Rio's South Zone as well as outside the central districts catered predominantly to middle-class gay men, saunas, bars and movie theatres also proliferated in both central and peripheral areas where men from all social classes could meet. Although much less extensive, and less well-researched, some separate spaces for lesbians also opened (249-51).

With respect to sex work, the dynamics were somewhat different, as this involved a high degree of visibility of both men and *travestis* offering commercial sex on the streets – an activity that ran clearly against the family morals and body performances enforced by the regime. While in the case of

travestis their exclusion from most other economic sectors formed part of the reason for the expanding market, the emergent consumerism that staged *travestis* as well as male hustlers (*michês*) as objects of male consumption was also vital (Balzer 2007: 326; Green 1999: 251). Degrees of public toleration, however, were much more ambivalent, and street sex workers were confronted with police harassment as well as hostilities on the part of residents and passers-by (e.g. Balzer 2007: 324). In the time of the so-called 'opening' of the dictatorship (*abertura*) in the late 70s and early 80s, *travesti* sex work expanded dramatically (322). As activist articulations grew strong during the same time, the extent of violence *travesti* sex workers faced on a daily basis also started to be discussed more widely, for instance in relation to attempted or actually committed murders and hunts of *travestis* that were not investigated by the police (325).

Since the 1980s, forms of sex work have proliferated, and male, female and *travesti* street markets have been complemented by massage houses, phone and internet-based out-call and webcam services, as well as magazines and DVD productions, forms that have also enabled a circumvention of stigmatisation and risks associated with street sex work (Balzer 2007: 379-82; Parker 1999: 74-5). Parker speaks about a "form of social mobility" (74) for *michês* and *travestis* who make it from the street into massage houses, and asserts that "the relatively informal sexual and symbolic economies of the street begin to coalesce into a much more organized and rationalized system of exchange" (76).

Travesti street sex work in Rio de Janeiro has continued, however, and now takes place predominantly on the Avenida Atlântica, the boulevard running along Copacabana's beachfront, around Av. Mem de Sá in Lapa, as well as the Av. Augusto Severo in the Glória district that is adjacent to Lapa. Violence and harassment on the part of the police have been reported to have

subsided in these parts of the city during the 1990s (Balzer 2007: 132). Assaults have however continued to happen. Discussing the situation around the year 2000, Balzer (129-30) mentions numerous murders of *travestis* that were committed in Copacabana. In recent years, this seems to have become less frequent. On the other hand, in the context of the progressive national and international marketing of cities, in 2001, Rio's city mayor published a decree to impede clients of sex workers from stopping their cars on Av. Atlântica, so as to improve the city's image – although the decree never translated into practice.³²

Apart from Rio's central areas, however, *travesti* street sex work has also become established in other parts of the metropolitan area, in particular along the Dutra Highway, which links the city of Rio de Janeiro with São Paulo, running through the Baixada Fluminense. Open and often lethal violence committed by passers-by as well as death squads has since the 1990s marked this part of the sex work market, the most recent case being the 32 year-old Cesar Henrique³³ Vendrame, who on 17th May 2010 was beaten to death on the highway.³⁴

Changes have also occurred in what has come to be labelled the 'gay market' or 'pink economy' (*economia cor de rosa*), which in Rio de Janeiro has over the past three decades gained increased visibility in particular in the South Zone districts of Botafogo, Copacabana and Ipanema, as well as in the *Centro*, where a multiplicity of gay saunas, bars and clubs are located. Richard Parker (1999) provides a detailed account of this market, which in many ways is still very pertinent to the current situation. He argues that upper-middle class areas and establishments in Ipanema and Leblon – that cater predominantly towards

³² See Folha de São Paulo, 19 December 2002.

³³ "Cesar Henrique is the victim's officially registered name rather than the probably female social name.

³⁴ See <http://www.diariodovale.com.br/noticias/0,21592.html>; accessed on 14 July 2010.

a lighter-skinned, local and international, male clientele – have over time formed a kind of ‘interactive circuit’ with the socioeconomically more mixed venues of Copacabana, Botafogo and *Centro* (141-4). Parts of the poorer queer population, he goes on to argue, have, rather than simply being excluded, “been increasingly incorporated into the growing gay economy” (145).

There has, however, also been a proliferation of saunas, clubs and bars in other parts of the metropolitan area. The clubs *Papa G* in the North Zone district of Madureira or *1140* in the West Zone district of Japarepaguá now count among Rio’s biggest lesbian, gay and trans venues, attracting young people from diverse social classes and racial and ethnic groups from all over the metropolitan area. Some venues and spaces also foster social interactions that exceed hegemonic, partly commodified, lesbian and gay identities, for instance between straight-identified/straight-acting young men and *bichas* (effeminate men) or *travestis*. Parker discusses the in part more clandestine nature of gay spaces, which have accommodated with “more tightly knit, local, community structures” that are based on “conservative cultural values” in residential areas of the North and West Zones (148). This argument, however, should not be overstated, as some of the venues and events in these areas have been rather visible and even attracted South Zone crowds, and as forms of secrecy are, on the other hand, also to be found in the *Centro* and South Zone. However, Parker also points to further dynamics of interaction between these different spaces:

Couples who meet in a club or bar in places as distant as Copacabana or Nova Iguaçu [sic] are likely to end up at a hotel ‘*para cavalheiros*’ (for men) on Avenida Gomes Freire [in Lapa] if they need a private place to have sex. Poorer young men from the Zona Norte [North Zone] may well work the streets in the Centro or out of the *casas de massagem* [massage houses] that are concentrated in the Zona Sul [South Zone],

where their clients are as likely to be middle-class gay men from Copacabana or Ipanema as closeted married men (*homens casados*) or aging queens (*bichas velhas*) from the *subúrbios*. (150)

Parker's account indicates the role erotic markets emerging around forms of sociability and sex have played with respect to queer life more broadly. Regarding sex work, Balzer (2007) makes a similar point when s_he³⁵ points out that the high level of self-organisation in sex work has constituted a "certain form of social or subcultural autonomy", where *travesti* identities developed independently of medical and psychological discourses – although influenced by the market (378).

Emergent networks and the pluralisation of identities

On the one hand, authors like Balzer (2007), Green (1999) or Parker (1999) interrogate new forms of gay consumerism. As has been pointed out earlier, commercialised gay lifestyles were able to flourish under the rule of the military dictatorship that enforced conservative morals, which indicates a certain accommodation of these lifestyles with hegemonic norms. This issue resonates with debates in Northern contexts around the tendency among especially male gays to partake in dominant consumption practices and to adopt heterosexual social norms.³⁶ On the other hand, the discussions of the Brazilian case indicate further complexities that are at stake in the formation of queer cultural

³⁵ I am using the pronouns 's_he' and 'hir' to take the author's transgender identity into account.

³⁶ These debates have proliferated in particular in the wake of Lisa Duggan's (2002) critique of 'homonormativity', which she sees as a particular configuration in US American neoliberal sexual politics: Duggan marks what she calls 'the New Homonormativity' as

a politics that does not contest dominant heteronormative assumptions and institutions but upholds and sustains them while promising the possibility of a demobilized gay constituency and a privatized, depoliticized gay culture anchored in domesticity and consumption. (179)

expressions and that relate in particular to the emergence of new social networks, forms of sociability and identities (a point that has also been made in Northern contexts, Brown 2009). I thus want to highlight the significance of such networks and identities with respect to queer life in Brazil and Rio de Janeiro more specifically.

Parker (1999) points out how gay community structures opened up new economic as well as cultural possibilities for individuals. Migration movements, he maintains, have played an important role in this context. Talking about the 1980s and 90s, Parker notes:

For many men, movement back and forth between different urban centers has become a way not simply of separating distinct realms of experience (whether gay and straight, home town and new reality, or what have you) but also of taking advantage of community structures in order to maximize life possibilities and experience – professional, social and cultural as well as sexual. (192)

He makes a similar argument around global circuits of tourism and sex work, which have connected Brazilian gay as well as trans cultures with US American, Western European, and other Southern ones (196-218). Parker sees potential for taking advantage of local and globalised community structures not only for middle-class men, but also, and in particular, for people from disadvantaged backgrounds, who also profit from new visibilities, networks and employment opportunities. At the same time, however, forms of (e.g. racist and class-bound) discrimination persisting within queer networks need to be taken into account, which Parker also addresses. Parker's account, however, focuses on male homosexuality, and the situation might be different for lesbians, who have often been less mobile, in terms of both social ascendance and physical movement.

Focusing on *travestis*, Balzer (2007) makes an argument that resonates with Parker's in that it brings out the significance of social and cultural networks in opening up new possibilities. Balzer highlights the intersections between different trans subcultures, including the worlds of stage performances and sex work. S_he points out in particular the significance of self-organisation: "The social networks of *travestis*, which are of great significance for their self-organisation in all areas, also nationally and internationally, are based on the necessity of mutual assistance, which shows in particular in the area of political organisation." (388) Such political organisation, Balzer mentions, has taken shape in particular from the 1990s onwards, in addition to already existing gay and 'LGBT' activism (which also changed during that time). Moreover, s_he highlights the importance of friendship relations, which, s_he maintains, are based on resonances in behaviour and attitudes towards life and society, rather than ethnic, social, or geographic background. These social networks have also enabled trans people since the times of the military dictatorship to find employment outside the sex work market, in particular as stage performers and hairdressers, but also in a range of further fields (321-2, 387-91).

Green (1999), in his historical account, places a similar emphasis on networks of support and friendship among gays, which have taken shape already in the time after World War II, and which inspired ideas about collectively fighting hostilities. In this context, it is important to consider that, in particular up to the 1970, no clear-cut distinctions between 'gay male' or 'homosexual' and 'trans women' or '*travestis*' were made. This ordering of sexual and gendered relations constituted 'homosexuals' as a collectivity where male same-sex and transgender practices were to an extent not differentiated. Among the most commonly used identity categories were notions like *homossexual* and *fresco*, and – since the 1930s – *bicha*, which were framed around

an association of effeminacy and sexual penetrability, as has already been mentioned earlier.³⁷ Since the 1950s, however, these gender performance-based categories began to be overlapped with more 'sexual orientation'-based ones, like *entendido* which placed the focus on same-sex relations – although, again, not in a consistent way (Green 1999: 268-9). When the terms 'homosexual' and 'gay' began to be claimed as political identities in the 1970s, they continued to include both same-sex orientation and trans identities and performances in many cases. Today, distinctions between 'sexual orientation' and 'gender identity' are much more common. The 'older' meanings, however, still circulate. Formations of *machismo* continue to persist in many ways, with the effect that homosexual men continue to be regarded as challenging or threatening *macho* masculinity by violating the codes of conduct on which it is based. Moreover, notions like *bicha* and *bofe* are still in use today. It is thus important to take the simultaneous coexistence of different kinds of identities into account, which have emerged at different times and are related to forms of sociability that persist in various ways.

Since the 1960s, with the diversification and expansion of trans cultures, trans identities pluralised. *Transformistas* and *travestis*, and, later, *drag queens* and *transexuais* gained visibility – although the boundaries between these categories are fluid. Considering this pluralisation provides some insights into the forms of cultural articulation that enable particular subjects to relate to urban and social life in new ways. Some care needs to be taken, however, when discussing these identity categories. In the sociological and anthropological literature on Brazilian trans people, clear distinctions have frequently been drawn between *travestis* – associated with 'prostitution' – *transformistas* – associated with stage shows – drag queens – associated with party fun – and

³⁷ These categories were, however, never really stable: Some men desiring erotic relations with men did not want to be associated with effeminacy, and women relating with women – although subsumed under 'homosexuals' – fell out of this scheme altogether.

transsexuals (*transexuais*) – associated with great suffering and ‘being prisoners within the wrong body’ (Balzer 2007: 342-7). Balzer shows, however, that, at least in the context of Rio de Janeiro, self-identifications have been much more complex (348-71). While terms like ‘drag queen’ and ‘*transformista*’ are in fact commonly associated with particular contexts of show and party, especially the three notions ‘*travesti*’, transsexual and *transformista* are often used in overlapping as well as idiosyncratic ways. Not only are there various overlaps between these notions (for instance ‘*travesti*’ has first been used in relation to stage shows as well), but trans people also claim multiple identities – *travesti* and transsexual, man and woman, *transformista* and *travesti* – or insist on the singularity of their being. Balzer provides a comprehensive discussion of the different spheres of sex work, stage performance, sociability and political organisation in relation to which trans cultures and identities have taken shape.

A further identity (or anti-identity) category worth mentioning here is the label ‘queer’ or ‘queer punk’, which is associated with collectivities that emerged in Brazil in particular over the past decade. These collectivities are associated with Brazilian lesbian, gay and trans cultures, as well as with transnational political and arts movements. They are interesting to consider in the present context as they have tended to be explicitly critical of the pink economy – even if they are in some ways also interrelated with cultural networks that have emerged in the context of a gay market. The punk/queer funk duo *Solange, tô Aberta!*, which got formed in 2006 in Salvador da Bahia in the Northeast of Brazil, provide a case in point.³⁸ One of its members, Paulo Belzebitchy, states in an interview that he has problems with Brazilian LGBT politics and culture, which he sees as marked by a reproduction of gender

³⁸ ‘*Solange*’ is a women’s name, and ‘*tô aberta*’ means ‘I am open’, used in the female form. The duo, which moved to Rio de Janeiro in 2008, have become famous in particular for their experimental stage performances that draw on drag, punk style, highly eroticised dancing, and provocative and sensuous interactions with the audience, thus creating linkages with punk and queer cultural traditions as well as with *funk carioca*, a style of electronic music that has emerged in Rio’s favelas in the 1990s. At present, both artists live in different parts of Germany.

norms and a desire to be accepted.³⁹ Pedro Vieira the other band member, repeatedly emphasised his aversion against the commercialised gay party scene and 'pink money' more generally.⁴⁰ The duo use the term 'queer' in order to distance themselves from the particular norms and values around consumerism as well as a desire to be 'accepted', which have – at least in part – become associated with 'gay'. At the same time, they positively refer to multiple identities apart from 'queer' – e.g. *bicha*, *travesti*, *negro* (black), which indicates a desire to affirm particular enactments or positions that have emerged from various forms of marginalisation.

Apart from indicating the contestations that have surrounded sexual and gender identities (and their sheer plurality), *Solange tô Aberta!* are also an expression of the diversity of globalised social networks that have taken shape in the context of urban spaces and have increasingly been articulated with internet networks and forums. In many of these networks, linkages to other local and global movements and cultures outside a 'gay circuit' or 'pink economy' feature prominently. While commercialised scenes have themselves opened up creative possibilities and networks, there has also been discontent and a desire for other ways of re-fashioning social relation. To conclude this section, we can thus note that if James Green (1999) invokes Benedict Anderson's (1983) notion of the 'imagined community' to describe the emergent sensibility of a homosexual collectivity in the 1950s, today such imagined, and actually enacted, communities and collectivities have intensely pluralised and emerged around new kinds of struggles.

³⁹ He comments on ongoing social and moralist constraints and harsh forms of violence, and adds: "I don't want to be 'acceptable' for the FUCKING Catholic Church." (The German translation, as published in the magazine, reads: „Ich will nicht als »akzeptabel« gelten für die S C H E I S S-katholische Kirche.“). See <http://www.hugsandkissesonline.de/?p=187>, accessed on 14 July 2010.

⁴⁰ I am referring to personal conversations I have had with Pedro over the last years (e.g. in Berlin, 1 May 2009).

Post/colonial formations of power and agency

This chapter has sought to provide an overview of some key dynamics of post/colonial power and queer life that have taken shape in Brazil and Rio de Janeiro more specifically. I want to end this chapter with a summary of how these dynamics are pertinent to the present research.

To begin with, LGBT activism, which plays an important role in this project, has itself emerged from the cultural practices and networks that have taken shape in particular since the 1960 and 70s. Parker is very explicit in this respect when he argues that “[w]hatever political movement there is has tended to piggyback on what already exists in lesbian and gay communities”, emphasising in particular the role of ‘gay economy’ with respect to changing queer expressions and articulations (122, see also Simões and Facchini 2009). At the same time, however, political movements cannot be regarded as a simple extension of consumerist collectivities. As has been pointed out earlier, forms of solidarity and resistance have also been constitutive of queer social networks and contributed to political articulations. This also indicates that the issues articulated or struggled against in LGBT activism pertain precisely to some of the diagrams that have been discussed in this chapter. As will be shown in Chapter 5, LGBT activism in Brazil emerged in the late 1970s partly in response to control of and violence against queer people that had intensified during the times of the military dictatorship.

Apart from furthering an understanding of Brazilian LGBT activism, the dynamics of power and cultural expression highlighted in this chapter are of relevance to how formations of agency and citizenship take shape within and across sites of LGBT activism and queer everyday life. The focus of the present research is on another ‘diagram’, namely the formation of

governmental activism around LGBT public security politics, which is discussed in Chapters 5 and 6. Yet, post/colonial diagrams come into play in the discussion of this formation, in particular with respect to the question of what kinds of issues are privileged in activism with what kinds of effects. Moreover, such diagrams come into play in relation to the question of *geborgenheit* that is juxtaposed with the issue of security and directs attention to how subjects are or aren't able to joyfully relate to spaces. The spatial and cultural formations that have taken shape in Rio de Janeiro frame possibilities of inhabiting spaces in a number of highly uneven ways. Forms of segregation and violence create differential possibilities to access spaces and resources for different subjects and shape forms of sociability. Similar dynamics are at play with respect to formal and informal markets that have emerged in part around gay and trans practices and identities, as these markets shape forms of mobility for particular subjects and have fostered the emergence of social and cultural networks and spaces.

PART II CONCEPTUAL ELABORATIONS

Whether someone is happy, he can tell by the sound of wind.

It warns the unhappy one of the fragility of his house,

bounding him from shallow sleep and violent dreams.

To the happy one it is the song of his Geborgensein:

its furious howling signals that it has power over him no longer.

Theodor W. Adorno⁴¹

This part of the thesis elaborates a conceptual framework for engaging with emergent formations of agency through a focus on ‘geborgenheit’. Geborgenheit can complicate the political debate of ‘*segurança pública*’, where subjects are staged as vulnerable and in need of governmental protection and care. Adorno’s aphorism provides an evocative image of the semantic difference between security and *Geborgenheit* (or what Adorno terms here ‘*Geborgensein*’ or ‘being-geborgen’). The aphorism conjures up two modes of relationality: an unhappy one that is oriented towards imminent dangers and a happy one that allows one to apprehend one’s *Geborgensein*. The howling wind can thus either be experienced as a reminder of the necessity of securitisation and make one restless, or as a ‘song of *Geborgensein*’, as a pleasurable and assuring signal. In the latter case, a moment of defence or exclusion is involved with respect to the wind howling outside the house without any power of doing harm. Yet, this moment of exclusion is situated within a scenario of ‘happiness’ where the focus is on the irreducibly positive intensities of being

⁴¹ Adorno (1951/2005: 29). Translation changed.

nested or being well that render any 'defensive' posture superfluous. This difference can be elaborated into an analytical, and ethicopolitical, style. Attending to such moments of *Geborgenheit*, or positive affect more broadly, might enable an intensification of potential for happiness.

Yet, the question of securitisation cannot easily be dispensed with altogether. What if the house has actually fallen down in an earlier wind, leaving an 'unhappy' trace that cannot be ignored? Or what if Adorno's character does not even own a house that could shelter him from aversive forces? Such are precisely the kinds of questions that need to be introduced in the context of this project. Homophobic and transphobic attacks and assaults of all kinds are very real and cannot simply be rendered powerless by an abstract shift in perspective. Moreover, restlessness, fears and other negative affects can have their own political relevance and should not simply be associated with an analytical style to be rejected.

Another issue to be considered pertains to the evaluation of *geborgenheit* itself. If our imaginary character is happy, does this already imply that his or her enactments are to be affirmed politically – or can such happy *geborgenheit* not also involve normative and worrying aspects? What, for instance, if the stability of the character's house resulted from a process of urban development and gentrification that displaced its previous inhabitants to places where the wind actually enters or destroys their houses? The present approach to subjective-spatial relations is not meant to result in a romantic celebration of positive affect as such or in abandoning a serious engagement with issues of violence, fears or securitisation. Quite on the contrary, the aim is to tarry with all the problems and complexities at stake. The point is to 'add' a different kind of engagement to the already-existing, more preventively oriented, engagements, and to thus juxtapose the question of *geborgenheit*

with that of securitisation – rather than to simply replace the latter with the former.

Chapter 3 elaborates on the semantics of *Geborgenheit* and the uses of ‘geborgenheit’ as an analytic concept. Building on this discussion and a ‘snapshot’ that is inserted between the two chapters, Chapter 4 discusses the ethical and political approach enabled by such a focus on positive affect, and elaborates an understanding of ‘agency’ as emerging from ongoing affective and embodied interactions that unfold in concrete spatial and historical context.

3. GEOGRAPHIES OF GEBORGENHEIT

Mobilising the semantics of *Geborgenheit*, this chapter argues, helps in engaging with the contingent ways in which formations of agency and citizenship take shape in concrete contexts. The German word *Geborgenheit* is useful in indicating positive affective dynamics, which has methodological implications in relation to questions of 'agency' and 'affect'. The positivity addressed by 'geborgenheit' concerns, more specifically, a sense of someone joyfully inhabiting, nesting within or opening up to a sheltering or nurturing space. This sense opens the view to manifold subjective-spatial relations that may include but also go beyond questions of appropriating or identifying with a space (which notions of 'home' and 'belonging' tend to circulate around in particular). Moreover, the sense of *Geborgenheit* also troubles simple binaries of 'activity' and 'passivity', as moments of 'actively' claiming or inhabiting a space and 'passively' surrendering to it frequently intersect. This has implications for thinking about agency not in terms of subjects dominating spaces, but in terms of contingently unfolding dynamics and relations that shape capacities for acting.

Yet, *Geborgenheit*, as a consequence of its use in particular contexts of German language, has also acquired certain connotations that might overburden the analysis. In particular, the word has been haunted by, and refracted through, the tropes of 'authenticity', which have given rise to universalistic as well as normative gestures. The word *Geborgenheit* thus needs to be transformed into an analytic concept that opens up rather than pre-determines an engagement with contingent subjective-spatial relations, making tropes of authenticity become understandable as only a contingent articulation

among others. A possible solution could be to invent a new, purely technical, term that is stripped of as much concrete contextual baggage as possible. Yet, by using a purely technical term that would label certain kinds of relations in the abstract, something would necessarily get lost, namely the word's particular resonances, its capacity to evoke a sense or set of senses of nested-ness – which ensues precisely from its usage in concrete linguistic practices. In order to retain the word's resonances, which seem to me a valuable resource for the present research, I thus retain the German word, marking, however, where it is used as an analytic term by spelling it without italics and in small letters ('geborgenheit', rather than '*Geborgenheit*'). By marking the term in this way, I also aim to gain some distance from prevalent associations and connotations pertaining to normative or universalising gestures. I thus argue that the word's evocative potential can function as a kind of semantic surplus that can be put to work beyond concrete contexts of use that have established prevalent associations.⁴²

A first step for fashioning an analytical concept of geborgenheit, then, consists in bringing out its evocative capacities, which are not self-evident especially for non-German speakers. An introduction of some etymological ramifications as well as some recurrent images that have been considered expressive of *Geborgenheit* can help unleashing part of the word's evocative potential, as it were. In a second step, I want to outline some of the ways in which tropes of authenticity have come to be associated with *Geborgenheit*, and have even contributed to the word's popularisation. At the same time, I argue, these associations have always been contingent and do not need to be considered as essential to the word's evocative semantics. Finally, a third step

⁴² The argument that the word's evocative potential exceeds its prevalent associations resonates with Jacques Derrida's (1982) conception of language, which he sees as characterised by an inherent *différance* in the sense of dynamics of (spatial) differing and (temporal) deferring of meanings in relation to the contexts they related to, which means that the potential meanings of any linguistic word or statement necessarily exceed any given set of associations or interpretations.

consists in bringing out the analytical capacities of *geborgenheit*. I will use a passage from Walter Benjamin's (1938/2006) *Berlin Childhood Around 1900* here, which provides inspiration not only for conceptualising *geborgenheit*, but also for engaging with subjective-spatial relations more broadly. As will be further elaborated in Chapter 7, Benjamin's work has moreover been vital in the elaboration of the methodological approach of this project.

Mobilising the evocative potential of *Geborgenheit*

The noun *Geborgenheit* is derived from the Old High German (spoken between 750 and 1050 AD) verb *bergen*. The old word *bergen* had a wide range of meanings, comprising not only 'to rescue'/'save', which are the dominant meanings of today's *bergen*, but an entire semantic field around 'to conceal', 'to hide', 'to nest somewhere', 'to sink down', 'to enter into sth.' (cf. Goebel, Anderson et al. 1989). The participle form *geborgen* could thus have any one meaning or several of the following: 'saved', 'rescued', 'nested', 'concealed' and 'hidden'. Grimm and Grimm's (1854) German Dictionary lists *geborgen* as an adjective which derived, as an abstraction, from this participle form and means "to be in shelter/protection [*Schutz*] and security/safety [*Sicherheit*], to be well off [*gut dran sein*]" (column 1508; '*gut dran sein*' does not necessarily have a financial association). This abstraction combines the different meanings of the participle *bergen*, the meanings of being 'saved' and being 'nested', which signifies 'being well off' with a particular spatial connotation. The meaning of being 'concealed' or 'hidden' may still resonate here. From this abstraction, the noun *Geborgenheit* emerged in the 19th century.⁴³ It is marked by the seemingly

⁴³ While more detailed etymological research would be needed, there are some indications that the noun *Geborgenheit* emerged, and became popular, during the 19th century. The noun

heterogeneous semantic field, implying protection from harms, security or sheltered-ness, but at the same time conjuring up a sense of being nested and being well.

An etymology without context is, of course, at best a rough illustration of the word's meaningful facets. The later discussion of 'authenticity' will focus more on concrete contexts of usage. Nonetheless, an introduction of the different meaningful facets that in some way have contributed to the word's formation helps bringing out its evocative intensities. The sense of simultaneous sheltered- and nested-ness can be further intensified, as well as differentiated, by means of some recurrent images that have come to be expressive of *Geborgenheit*. Most pervasive has been the image of a baby being held and sheltered in its mother's arms, or in another adult's arms or hands.

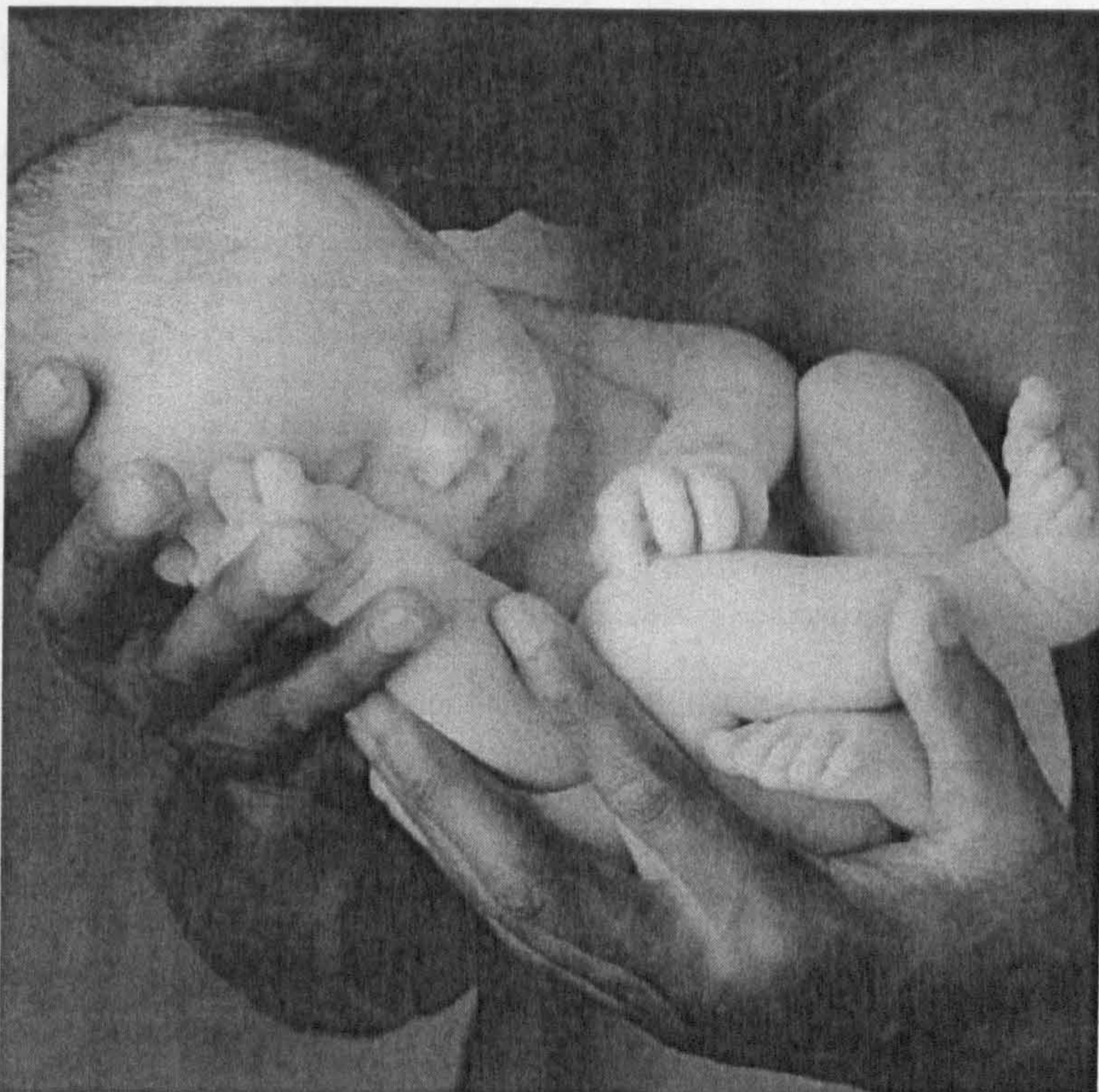


Image 1: Schmidt's *Geborgenheit* puzzle

'*Geborgenheit*' is not listed in Goebel et al's (1989) extensive dictionary of Early New High German, which comprises the time from 1350 to 1650; neither does it appear in Luther's translation of the bible. Grimm and Grimm, however, in their German dictionary (1854), provide examples for '*Geborgenheit*' that date from the early 19th century.

A recent case is provided by an adult puzzle produced by the German toy company 'Schmidt Spiele', which uses an image of Australian child photographer Anne Geddes for a puzzle titled '*Geborgenheit*'.⁴⁴ The newborn seems to be in a perfectly peaceful pose that is both physically and emotionally created by the devoted adult, with both of them forming a unity evoking *Geborgenheit*.

The recurrent image of a baby being held in an adult's hands or arms brings out an important semantic nuance. While *Geborgenheit* denotes someone's sheltered- and nested-ness, it is simultaneously evocative of a particular spatiality that creates this nested-ness. It thus comes to evoke a relationality between on the one hand someone or something that is sheltered, nested and well and a favourable spatiality enabling or creating this well-being on the other. Perhaps this baby-adult constellation has become a particularly prominent image associated with *Geborgenheit* because of the complementary characteristics of the two constitutive components: The baby's 'baby-ness' – which has to do with its dependence and impulsiveness as well as its weak, poorly controlled and tiny (and often naked) body – expresses at once an imminent need for a decidedly favourable spatiality and a capacity to fully immerse in it; and the adult's 'adult-ness' – which pertains for instance to her or his capacity to take care of others as well as their larger and controlled body that can provide shelter – epitomises this spatiality's decidedly favourable nature.

Further recurrent images of *Geborgenheit*, which also express this sense of a relationship between a being and a favourable spatiality, include the nest, the cosy house or dwelling, as well various kinds of vaulted bodies enveloping

⁴⁴ See

<http://www.schmidtspiele.de/index.php?id=106&bewpage=351&vt=1&backpage=83&aid=918&spielsess=7561bc6bb683140996e41ed57d2bf3c7>; accessed on 25 May 2010.

another body. (It is thus not by coincidence that I have used the terms ‘nesting’ and ‘nested-ness’ earlier to evoke the meaning of *Geborgenheit*.) A further semantic nuance, which in some cases is very pronounced and in others isn’t, pertains to a moment of ‘growth’, ‘development’ or ‘unfolding’ of the one being *geborgen*. In the case of the baby in the adult’s arms, for instance, what I have called the baby’s ‘baby-ness’ can also include its potential for growth and development, which is being fostered by the adult as well as the wider material and social space. The semantics of *Geborgenheit* may thus besides – or in connection with – the spatial dimension also include an intense temporal dimension. A sense of *Geborgenheit*, we could say, ensues here precisely from a spatiality being favourable to someone’s potential, and thus to their development or becoming over time – it expresses a subjective-spatial relationality shot through with a temporal vector (of potential becoming). The following chapter will further elaborate on these notions of ‘potential’ and ‘becoming’ in relation to a Deleuzian conception of agency.

It is precisely its intense evocativeness of such semantics of subjective-spatial relationality and becoming that make *Geborgenheit* a valuable resource in the present context. Yet, this very evocativeness has been haunted, and in part constituted by, a set of powerful gestures that can be summarised under the label of ‘authenticity’. In images of a child in a mother’s arms, for instance, the mother may be associated with ‘natural maternal love and care’, framing *Geborgenheit* in terms of a universalistic, and simultaneously normatively gendered, appeal to ‘authentic’ human existence. In Anne Geddes’ image, where the adult appears to be male, a further, racialised/racist, gesture of authenticity seems to be expressed. The different skin colours of child and adult can be seen as invoking an association of whiteness with innocence and a potential to grow and blackness with the performance of labour of nurturing

and care that enables this potential to unfold, enabling its apparently ‘authentically’ human development.

In the following, I will further discuss tropes of authenticity that have been attached to ‘*Geborgenheit*’. Yet, while such tropes seem ready at hand in relation to *Geborgenheit* and may even have intensified the very evocative capacity I am after here, I do not see the link between *Geborgenheit* and authenticity as necessary in the sense of the latter constituting some irreducible semantic facet of *Geborgenheit* (as is the case with the positive sense of nested-ness). Instead, I attribute the ready-at-handedness of gestures of ‘authenticity’ to the fact that the semantics of nested-ness within a favourable space lend themselves particularly well to an association with such powerful, and in Western culture very pervasive, gestures. The noun *Geborgenheit*, in this reading, became popular at a time when concerns with subjective-spatial relationality, and a longing for authentic nested-ness, gained significance. Historicising the appeal to authenticity in this way, throws into relief its historical and contextual contingency, which in turn allows for gaining some critical distance to prevalent associations and connotations of *Geborgenheit*. In what follows, I thus want to indicate some of the most prominent contexts of meaning where *Geborgenheit* got ‘refracted’ – as with a prism – through the trope of authenticity. This discussion also has some productive side-effects. Firstly, it allows me to bring further images and cases of *Geborgenheit* into play, which helps intensifying the word’s evocative potential. Secondly, this discussion already gives some indications of how the question of *Geborgenheit* can inspire an engagement with contingent subjective-spatial relations: Imaginations of authenticity that come into view in relation to this question can be seen as forming part of powerful affective diagrams that incite and normatively frame certain kinds of subjective-spatial relations.

Tropes of authenticity

Tropes of authenticity are extraordinarily pervasive in social and cultural expressions of what we have come to call 'Western modernity'. They hark back to humanistic imaginations around fundamental conditions of our existence in the world and manifest in a range of religious and secular contexts, from artistic and philosophical expressions in the contexts of the Reformation, Classical or Romantic epochs to 19th and 20th (and 21st) century philosophy and social science. Such tropes were constituted in particular around two poles that are seen to provide the essence of human existence, its fundamental ontological conditions. The first one has often been addressed in terms of 'angst', a word that in the times of Reformation, and with the help of Martin Luther's bible translation, acquired a new, existentialist meaning (Wierzbicka 1998). Although my account needs to stay cursory here, it seems that Luther's use of 'angst' resounds in the – partly more secular though similarly existentialist – uses of 19th and 20th century philosophers like Kierkegaard, Heidegger or Sartre, all of which associated angst with authentic being (e.g. Heidegger's 1927 *Eigentlichkeit*). Psychoanalytic theories have also engaged such an existentialist framing, as have some 'negativist' approaches in the social sciences, such as Adorno's project of a 'melancholy science', which will be addressed in the following chapter.⁴⁵ The second pole has variously been framed in terms of 'salvation', 'confidence', 'hope' or 'happiness', an existential state or mode of being that has often been put into some kind of dialectical relationship with the former – be it in terms of a prior condition, as something to be gained, or as something irretrievably lost.

⁴⁵ Adorno's reference to Hegel's claim that "[t]he life of the mind only attains its truth when discovering itself in absolute desolation [*Zerrissenheit*]" will be pointed out. The existentialist meaning of 'angst' resounds in this invocation of "absolute desolation".

Let me provide some examples from different semantic contexts that indicate the efficacy of such an existentialist imagination and that either explicitly invoke the term *Geborgenheit* or bring out a set of meanings that is highly resonant with this notion. Modern Christian religion provides a good place to start with as it has arguably played a defining role in shaping imaginations of authenticity and human existence. I will then consider 19th century bourgeois culture, which seems particularly formative of existentialist imaginations of *Geborgenheit*, as well as philosophical and social scientific discourses, with which my later conceptual elaborations can be contrasted.

Religious Existentialisms: Divine salvation

Anna Wierzbicka (1998) argues that in the times of Reformation, the great obsession with eschatology coincided with massive transformations in social and cultural systems, thus creating an affective and imaginary scenario of immanent uncertainty, vulnerability and threat. The German word *Angst*, she argues, acquired a new, existentialist, meaning that expressed this scenario. 'Angst' came to express an immanent condition of authentically human being-in-the-world as such. The pole opposed to angst was divine salvation alone, which had an equally existentialist meaning in indicating a way out of angst, giving rise to religious tropes of hope and confidence. In modern Christianity, there have been various ways in which possibilities of salvation have been framed – having been linked to active worshipping, virtuous deeds and behaviour or faith alone, and attributed to the here and now or the hereafter. While the concrete ways in which salvation has been articulated would thus need to be considered in more detail, quite generally speaking it seems that with its emergence in the 19th century, the word *Geborgenheit* provided a term

that in German-speaking contexts could be mobilised in relation to the issue of salvation and that got endowed with a particular set of existentialist meanings.

An indication of this mobilisation of *Geborgenheit* is provided by the series of German bible translations, *into* which *Geborgenheit* has progressively been written since the 19th century. Consider Psalm 22:10, for instance, which in the English King James translation reads “I was cast upon thee from the womb: thou art my God from my mother’s belly”. While in Luther’s 1545 translation (Last Hand Edition) the last part is rendered as “*da ich noch an meiner Mutter brüsten war*” (literally: ‘when I was still on my mother’s breasts’), the 1984 version of the Luther bible inserts: “*du ließest mich geborgen sein an der Brust meiner Mutter*” (literally ‘you let me be *geborgen* in the bosom/at the breast of my mother’). The adjective *geborgen*, which in Luther’s time existed only as a participle of the word *bergen*, is thus deployed in relation to precisely the prevalent mother-child image associated with *Geborgenheit* mentioned earlier, however in a pronouncedly existentialist sense. In a similar way, the 1984 version adds the title: “*In Gottes Händen geborgen*” (*Geborgen* in God’s hands) to Psalm 31, which in Luther’s 1545 does not have any title. The mainly Catholic German *Einheitsübersetzung*, a translation completed between 1962 and 1980, goes even further in inserting the noun *Geborgenheit* in a couple of verses (namely Psalm 57, title; Psalm 122:7; Ruth 1:9).

Geborgenheit is rendered in most of these cases as a form of comfortable and sheltered well-being that ensues from a confidence in God’s grace and salvation, as well as from conducting life in accordance with a set of values. The trope of salvation seems to endow *Geborgenheit* with an existential meaning that intensifies the universalising and normative gestures that are involved. These gestures pertain in particular to gender and sexual relations. The first verse of Ruth 1:9, for instance, is rendered by the *Einheitsübersetzung* as “*Der Herr lasse jede von euch Geborgenheit finden bei einem Gatten*”, literally: “The Lord let

each of you find *Geborgenheit* with a husband.” *Geborgenheit* is thus associated with a woman being married to a husband.⁴⁶ The refraction of *Geborgenheit* through Christian-religious tropes of authenticity, we might thus say, fosters a particular way of enabling, inciting, and simultaneously normatively framing subjective-spatial relations of sheltered- and nested-ness. Such a consideration of religious mobilisations of *Geborgenheit* already exemplifies how the word can be used analytically, as will be further elaborated later on. But let me first consider some further cases where *Geborgenheit* is refracted through tropes of authenticity.

Bourgeois existentialisms: idyll, home and family

18th and especially 19th century bourgeois culture provides a context that has been particularly formative of an existentialist framing of *Geborgenheit* – and arguably contributed to the popularisation if not creation of the noun itself. In German-language cultural expressions from the Romantic and Biedermeier⁴⁷ to the Bourgeois Realist⁴⁸ periods, which comprise restorative as well as progressive currents, tropes of authenticity reappear in mostly secular guises. The fairy-tales recollected, re-written or invented by Romantic writers like J.K.A. Musäus, the Brothers Grimm or Wilhelm Hauff abound in complementary images of angst and nested-ness that are so familiar and pervasive that they hardly need to be recounted. What I want to call attention

⁴⁶ Luther’s 1545 version reads: “Der HERR gebe euch das jr ruhe findet eine jgliche in jres Mans hause”, which corresponds quite literally to the English King James Version: “The LORD grant you that ye may find rest, each of you in the house of her husband.”

⁴⁷ Both ‘Romantic’ and ‘Biedermeier’ – as well as ‘Restoration’ and ‘Vormärz’ – are names given to the time between the Congress of Vienna in 1815 and the German Revolution in 1848, depending on whether the period is considered in its conservative or progressive tendencies, and under aspects of literature and culture or the political order. (Of course, the Romantic period itself reaches back into the late 18th century.)

⁴⁸ ‘Bourgeois Realism’ is the label for a German literary current spanning the time from 1848 to the end of the 19th century.

to, however, is the particular set of 19th century bourgeois contexts in which the invocation of existentialist *Geborgenheit* is especially pronounced. A consideration of German Biedermeier culture is instructive.

The Biedermeier composer Ernst Anschütz sings about being *gebor-gen* in his song of the rattling mill, which is one of the most famous German folk songs:

When the field bears plentiful corn,

Click-clack!

The mill quickly moves its wheels,

Click-clack!

And if heaven only gives us bread evermore,

Then we are *gebor-gen* and don't suffer want,

Click-clack, click-clack, click-clack.

*(My quasi-literal translation, ignoring rhymes)*⁴⁹

Geborgenheit features here within an affective-semantic context of nostalgic longing for a peaceful harmony that fosters a sense of existential belonging and authenticity and is expressed in terms of an imagined rural idyll. The nostalgic evocation of the idyll – which also appears in the Romantic revival of medieval mysticism and fairy-tales – is characteristic of the Biedermeier epoch. (In Anschütz' song the idyll is furthermore aligned with a gracious 'heaven' that epitomises universal harmony.)

The particular web of meanings, desires and imaginations expressed in Biedermeier art needs to be understood in the context of the progressive societal transformation from agrarian monarchies to industrialised, urbanised

⁴⁹ The full original verse goes:

Wenn reichliche Körner das Ackerfeld trägt,

Klipp klapp!

Die Mühle dann flink ihre Räder bewegt,

Klipp klapp!

Und schenkt uns der Himmel nur immerdar Brot,

So sind wir geborgen und leiden nicht Not,

Klipp klapp, klipp klapp, klipp klapp. (<http://ingeb.org/Lieder/esklappd.html>)

and 'democratic' nation-states. As Zygmunt Bauman (2001) vividly illustrates, these changes, which sooner or later occurred in the whole of Western and Eastern Europe and the USA, went along with a proliferation of uncertainties – of multiple new *ängste*, we might add, that reinvigorated the existential eschatological semantics of Reformation in increasingly secular terms (For the sake of simplicity, I am leaving aside the wider global and colonial ramifications of these processes that Bauman also tends to leave out of the picture.) According to Bauman, the modern uncertainties were soothed, or affectively transformed, by the active promotion of regimes of order and the ideal of 'community', or what in German is called *Gemeinschaft*. The notion of 'community', which Baumann focuses on – and which was (and remains) particularly powerful in the imaginary and affective constitution of influential social aggregates like the bourgeois family or racialised groups of people, as well as localities such as urban 'neighbourhoods' – was complemented by further affectively laden notions. In Germany, the notion of *Heimat*, which came to be used in its modern poetic and utopian sense only in the 19th century, proved highly effective in aligning feelings of belonging and existential meaning with respect to rural regions and the nation as a whole.⁵⁰ The semantics of '*Geborgenheit*' provided further resonances in this context, operating on different scales simultaneously, from the family and the region to the nation and the spiritual or divine. The pronouncedly spatial connotations of the word, also in relation to its possible temporal associations with imminent growth and unfolding potential, assigned *Geborgenheit* a particular position and functionality in this web of meanings. *Geborgenheit* thus became absorbed into – and in part constituted through – a dense semantic web where

⁵⁰ *Heimat* is a now highly emotionally charged notion for something like 'home' or 'homeland'. According to a Wikipedia article, which cites extensive references, up to the 19th century, *Heimat* had been a rather sober word, used primarily in legal and (physical/territorial) geographic senses ([Http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Heimat](http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Heimat); accessed on 11 Dec. 2007). For a further discussion of the notion, as well as its contemporary deployment, see Binder (2008).

notions such as authenticity, *Heimat*, community, security, and nostalgic longing for natural idyll are all interrelated.



Image 2: *Mein Nest ist das Best* ['My Nest Is the Best'] (Ludwig Richter, 1869)

Biedermeier art articulated *Geborgenheit* in terms of a nostalgic longing for a lost past and was associated with the political forces of restoration, which aimed to re-establish the social order that preceded the French Revolution. At the same time, it was a bourgeois movement and fostered the emergence of a private sphere of homely family life with its associated virtues and social norms, including the staging of a male head of the family and the association of women with motherhood, care-taking and domestic work.⁵¹ Biedermeier thus refracted *Geborgenheit* through tropes of the rural idyll and the home, which in turn were associated with a particular set of (gender and further) norms.

⁵¹ I am relying here on the article <http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Biedermeier>; accessed on 27 May 2010.

Christian religious as well as bourgeois cultural expressions have thus, in specific and contingent ways, mobilised various tropes of authenticity that colonised on the semantics of nesting in a favourable space, at the same time invoking particular sets of norms and values (although their concrete effects would need further consideration in relation to each case). It could be further considered how *Geborgenheit* featured in writings from the Bourgeois Realist period, where a practical concern for people's livelihood displaced nostalgic raptures and tropes of the idyll.⁵² It might also be worth discussing how *Geborgenheit* was articulated in the 19th century in ways that exceeded tropes of authenticity.

Such tropes, however, have also pervaded Western (or Northern) philosophical and social scientific writings, which emerged in the context of Christian and bourgeois culture. I now want to discuss a few prominent cases where notions of, or resonating with, *Geborgenheit* have been refracted through tropes of authenticity. Bachelard's (1964) *Poetics of Space* as well as Tuan's (1974; 1977) work around 'place' will form my starting points, as these have been particularly influential in human geography. I will then comment on German authors that have explicitly addressed *Geborgenheit*. Considering philosophy and social theory is crucial in the present context as these have not only fostered particular imaginations of *Geborgenheit* but shaped certain regimes of knowledge, which are in turn linked to research and further social practices that set out ways of thinking about and engaging with subjective-spatial relations. This is of immediate relevance to the envisioned shift from the German word *Geborgenheit* to an analytical concept, as there is a danger of reinscribing tropes of authenticity on the conceptual level.

⁵² Heinrich Keller's famous novel *Green Henry* (1855/1960) provides an example (see Hutta 2009).

Existentialisms in philosophy and social theory: Topophilia, place and Geborgenheit

In his phenomenological book *Poetics of Space*, Gaston Bachelard (1964) contrasts Freud's famous claim that life starts with the scream with the assertion: "Human life starts with refreshing sleep, and all the eggs in a nest are kept nicely warm" (103). If Freud's claim is an invocation of angst as the authentic origin and condition of being, Bachelard's statement lets the existentialist pendulum swing all the way to the other pole of authenticity by positing peaceful nested-ness as the start of human life. The trope of authenticity reappears here in the guise of a humanistic metaphysics of what Bachelard terms 'felicitous space' and 'topophilia' – spaces that induce happiness and the love of space, respectively – and that for him are all about nests, chests and shells. "In every dwelling, even the richest," Bachelard argues, "the first task of the phenomenologist is to find the original shell." (107). In social science, similar existentialist gestures are familiar from humanist geographers such as Yi-Fu Tuan (1974; 1977), who adopts the notion of 'topophilia' and indulges in the significance of "intimate places" that he sees as creating "occasions when human beings truly connect" (Tuan 1977: 141). In fact, the entire humanist strand in cultural geography that, taking inspiration from writers like Tuan (1977) and a decade later Agnew (1987), invokes intimate and meaningful 'place' – in contradistinction to supposedly more abstract 'space' – as the locus of authentic human experience leans on such an existentialist framing.

These examples indicate how philosophical and social scientific engagements are situated within broader social, cultural and political discourses and imaginations – including the religious and bourgeois contexts mentioned earlier – which they draw on and simultaneously help shaping. The humanist-

existentialist approach to 'place' has of course been fiercely criticised within geography, by authors like David Harvey, who argued that the obsession with the minutiae of local experiences neglects the broader (capitalist) ramifications of the local (see Castree 2003). A further critique has been formulated by Doreen Massey (1994, 1995), who – instead of rejecting the notion of 'place' altogether – has argued for thinking about the local specificity of places and how they are not only experienced in connection with global relations of power but also form an integral part therein. Massey thus coined the term a 'global sense of place' to move beyond the appeal to the authenticity of 'place'. In *For Space* she (2005: 64-5) elaborates further on this issue, arguing that in modernity 'space' and 'place' have commonly been imagined in terms of homogeneous, bounded units "with their internally generated authenticities" (64) – an imagination which enabled the generalisation of the nation-state form and continues to reverberate today in a nostalgic responses to globalisation that mourn the loss of a spatial coherence that never existed.

These critiques indicate the dangers of refracting analytic concepts like 'place' or 'nested-ness' through tropes of authenticity. While a particular image or set of relations is granted quasi-universal and trans-historical importance – as when Bachelard goes looking for an "original shell", Tuan indulges in "intimate place", or modern thinkers and actors more generally imagine space as bounded and internally homogeneous – a range of actually unfolding contingencies involved is eclipsed, if not fixed according to powerful norms. Massey's critique of the naturalisation of apparently authentic places and spaces pertains not only to the form of the nation-state, but to "much more ordinary notions – persistent and everyday – that 'place', or locality (or even 'home') provides a safe haven to which one can retreat" (Massey 2005: 65). This point resonates with the critiques by generations of feminists of notions like 'home', 'family' and the 'private sphere' that naturalise hegemonic relations of gender,

sexuality, class and 'race' (e.g. hooks 1992; Massey 1994; Oakley 1974; Rose 1993).

The few elaborate academic engagements with *Geborgenheit* so far seem all to have fallen into a similar trap of restaging authenticity on the conceptual level: psychologist Hans Mogel with his (1995) monograph *Geborgenheit* and phenomenologists Otto-Friedrich Bollnow with his (1955/1972) *Neue Geborgenheit* ('New Geborgenheit', which builds on his earlier elaborations on *Geborgenheit* in his 1963 *Mensch und Raum*), and Barbara Kaminski with her (2003) *Geborgenheit und Selbstwertgefühl* (the latter term signifying 'sense of self-esteem').⁵³ Let me comment only on the more recent works by Mogel and Kaminski.

The subtitle of Mogel's book: *Psychologie eines Lebensgefühls* (roughly: 'Psychology of a Sentiment Fundamental to Life') already announces how an appeal to authenticity dominates this partly social scientific partly essayistic monograph. Mogel is enticed by Bachelard's invocation of the nest as a transhistoric spatiality of happiness and turns the nest into "an evolutionary determined motif of *Geborgenheit*" (116). This appeal to transhistorical authenticity is further aggravated by a universalistic methodological approach, which is situated within the tradition of quantitative social research. A main aim is to find out which meanings *Geborgenheit* has for different groups of people, which are conceived in abstract, universalistic and naturalised terms as 'men' and 'women'. By means of frequencies and distribution curves Mogel produces a knowledge on what such groups of people 'normally' experience as *Geborgenheit*. Instead of asking under which spatially and historically contingent conditions particular 'men' and 'women' (and transgender or intersex people

⁵³ Mogel's book is the only psychological monograph on *Geborgenheit* so far. Mogel (1995) himself replies to his rhetorical question what psychology has to say on *Geborgenheit*: "Nothing. Just nothing at all" (2). With respect to philosophy, Kaminski (2003: 14) mentions one German habilitation and two doctoral theses written since 1945 with *Geborgenheit* in their titles.

etc.) experience *Geborgenheit* in a certain way, differential experiences of *Geborgenheit* get thus scientifically normalised. From the layering of tropes of authenticity with haphazardly picked data from his research Mogel generates statements that are as universalistic and normative as they are banal: “The most desired nest of *Geborgenheit* for a man is probably the woman’s pudenda [*Schoß*]” (115; *Schoß* can also mean ‘lap’ or ‘womb’).

Kaminski, who draws extensively on Bollnow as well as Heidegger, frames her approach in similarly universalistic terms, aiming for nothing less than an “analysis of human nature” (17). Again, such universalising gestures intersect with an appeal to authenticity that abounds in normative gestures. Mogel’s combination of empirical data with random invocations of hegemonic tropes and norms gives way to phenomenological ruminations that centre around three ‘stages’ of *Geborgenheit*.⁵⁴ 1) security and shelter; 2) home and familiar surroundings; 3) loving ‘togetherness’ (*Miteinander*) and *Heimat*. Kaminski explains the significance of the third set of issues with reference to the fact that *Heimat* “presupposes rootedness in finite space” (31) and harmonious communal dwelling. The resonances of this statement with Biedermeier culture are conspicuous. This invocation of a ‘harmonious’, ‘finite’ space expresses precisely the appeal to authenticity lamented by Massey. Kaminski makes this appeal come full circle when she adds that “marital living together in one’s own house can convey the highest stage of *Geborgenheit*” (32), and, later on, that authentic *Geborgenheit* “is possible only on religious ground” (158). The reliance on existentialist humanism is obvious here, even to Kaminski herself, who sees in *Geborgenheit* as enabling an “unfolding of the possibilities residing in humans” (38). Bourgeois, religious and philosophical

⁵⁴ Kaminski (2003) explicitly laments that Mogel does not offer an account of “comprehensive satisfaction of *Geborgenheit*” (15).

tropes of authenticity get thus telescoped into each other so as to conjure up an apparently universal existential structure of meaning and feeling.

Historicising *Geborgenheit*

It seems odd how a set of historically contingent tropes, norms and values can be elevated to such a status of universality. Neither Mogel nor Kaminski devote even a line of their texts to the fact that the noun *Geborgenheit* has become popularised only in the 19th century. Mogel confirms his ignorance of historicity when he laments the lack of “a word or even a conceptual analysis on *Geborgenheit*” (1995: 3) from the Greek to medieval and modern philosophy. His section ‘The word *Geborgenheit*’ consists of nothing more than a paragraph that indulges in the marvels of this notion that addresses “the existence of us -- humans” (1).

T.W. Adorno and Walter Benjamin are among the (as it seems very few) writers that have historicised *Geborgenheit* and, moreover, interrogated the appeal to authenticity with explicit reference to *Geborgenheit*, even if not in a systematic way. Western modernity is for Adorno characterised by a recurrent promise of *Geborgenheit* while at the same time preventing people increasingly from actually being *geborgen* in any profound sense. The invocation of scenarios of apparently authentic *Geborgenheit* in a context of modern industrialised capitalism serves for Adorno first and foremost to mask grotesque realities of alienation and violence. Especially in both the advent and aftermath of Nazism, Adorno sees the task of aesthetic and philosophical writing first of all in the destruction of this false appearance of *Geborgenheit*.⁵⁵ Adorno’s main

⁵⁵ In his (1958) comments on Franz Kafka, for instance, Adorno remarks that the author “through shocks shatters the reader’s contemplative *Geborgenheit* with respect to what is being

target is thus first of all the falsity of the appearance of *Geborgenheit* itself. Yet, with this stance Adorno manoeuvres himself into a kind of engagement that is fixed on critique and the 'negative' in a one-sided way – an approach that will be further interrogated in Chapter 4. In focusing on the 'false appearance' of *Geborgenheit*, Adorno himself might be said to succumb to a universalising gesture, namely of treating *Geborgenheit* as an apparently generic set of affective relations that is tainted with capitalist ideologies to the core. This gesture elides a range of complexities that are involved in the actual constitution of *geborgenheit*.

Interestingly, Walter Benjamin, while also working historically, has elaborated what can be called a methodology of *Geborgenheit* that goes beyond negation. In Benjamin's approach, the focus shifts to the contingent articulations of *Geborgenheit* and their complex effects in concrete contexts. Benjamin's work thus provides vital inspiration for elaborating an analytical, transitory, concept of *geborgenheit*. In what follows, I want to bring out the analytical work *geborgenheit* can perform, using a passage from Walter Benjamin's *Berlin Childhood around 1900*. The broader methodological approach that uses a focus on 'positive affect' – rather than gestures of 'negation' or 'critique' – in order to engage with contingent formations of agency will then be further elaborated in Chapter 4.

read", which Adorno considers crucial in a time when "the permanent threat of catastrophe allows no one to stand on the sidelines anymore" (46). He makes similar comments on Ernst Bloch ("*Geborgenheit* is not available" *ibid.*: 239), or on a statement by Paul Valéry (which, he says, "destroys the ideological appearance of happy *Geborgenheit*" Adorno 1977).

A Benjaminian cartography

The earlier condensed invocation of tropes of authenticity may have made *Geborgenheit* seem to be irremediably enmeshed in normative imaginations. However, tracing the ways in which relations and imaginations of *Geborgenheit* have unfolded in different contexts of Western modernity has also indicated the notion's analytic potential, namely its usefulness in bringing out intense affective investments in particular relations of subjectivity and space as they take shape in diverse contexts. My approach is diametrically opposed to the one of writers like Mogel or Kaminski. Where these writers focus on recurrent associations and types of relation so as to bring out the meaning of *Geborgenheit* in its essence and complexity, my aim is to mobilise the word's evocative potential for an engagement with contingent subjective-spatial relations. Interestingly, examples of the word's evocative potential can be found in Mogel's own text. His (1995: 9-17) list of some answers women and men gave to his question of what *Geborgenheit* means to them, includes various different statements like: "Driving the car in the winter," "to sit in the kitchen with my husband at night, talk and smoke," "a warm, soft vagina," and "snuggled up to a warm pony with winter skin, standing on a willow in the sun." Such diverse answers can be seen, at least in part, as responses to the intense evocative resonances of Mogel's question. The question of *Geborgenheit* unleashed, as it were, some of *Geborgenheit's* evocative potential, which comes to indicate diverse moments, situations and contexts. Instead of trying to find traces of apparently universal existentialisms in such statements, then, it would be possible to take these statements as a starting point for engaging with unfolding subjective-spatial relations.

I thus want to shift now from focusing on the meanings of the German word *Geborgenheit* to mobilising the word as an analytic term –

‘geborgenheit’. Articulations of geborgenheit do not need to be conceived simply as false ideological masks of a supposedly more profound reality, as in Adorno’s approach. Instead, they can be seen as expressions of real subjective-spatial relations with their own contingent productivity. Such subjective-spatial relations can be relatively fixed on recurrent articulations, such as a nostalgic longing for an idyll, the hope for divine salvation or the pursuit of conjugal bliss. Such recurrent tropes and relations are indications of powerful dynamics related to hegemonic social and cultural formations. It is, however, possible to trace a range of further, less hegemonic dynamics. This introduces a methodological challenge, since such dynamics might escape ready-made representations. Walter Benjamin’s *Berlin Childhood Around 1900* provides valuable inspiration here, as it presents an elaborate methodology for engaging contingent subjective-spatial relations. The text does so by tracing moments of geborgenheit that neither solely appeal to existentialist authenticity nor are couched within a negativistic endeavour of unmasking the false. Benjamin ends his introduction to the 1938 edition of *Berlin Childhood*, with the words:

[...]The images of my metropolitan childhood perhaps are capable, at their core, of performing later historical experience. I hope they will at least suggest how thoroughly the person spoken of here would later dispense with the *Geborgenheit* allotted his childhood (1938/2006: 38).

Benjamin’s text is a collection of intense images, many of which can be called images of geborgenheit. Among the locales are: the house and its central and peripheral parts that accommodate old and new objects, sounds and smells, fears and desires; the city streets that change their face according to the time of the day; parks and meadows that foster explorations and unexpected encounters; the neighbourhood, the market as well as places recounted and dreamscapes. The memories pertaining to these various eventful places have already sunken into oblivion. Benjamin is interested in awakening intense

moments that testify both to formations of power that take shape in the urban, Jewish bourgeois, context in which Benjamin grew up, and to – often untapped – potentials for overcoming or challenging such formations. Such an awakening may enable Benjamin's images to perform "later historical experience", to unfold this untapped potential residing within them.

The intense images Benjamin is after, however, appear only in a fleeting moment. They are what in the *The Arcades Project* Benjamin (1999) terms 'dialectical images'.⁵⁶ This evocation of intense, yet fleeting, images of *geborgenheit* enables an apprehension of various affective dynamics that pertain to yet also exceed hegemonic formations of power. The section on 'The Otter' from *Berlin Childhood* provides a case in point. The otter's kennel in the Zoological Gardens, the narrator notes, is located in the "most neglected [*ausgestorbensten*] part of the garden". The past, or its forgotten moments, come to bear on the place so intensely that it turns into a "prophetic corner" (Benjamin 1938/2006: 79). The child of Benjamin's memories, who strays about the Zoological Gardens, is captivated as he encounters this place. The intensity of this encounter has to do with precisely the spatial and temporal liminality of the otter's kennel – which seems to resonate with the boy's own marginal position as a child in a bourgeois adult world – and, in fact, with a corresponding, ephemeral, appearance of the animal itself, since it breaks the surface of its water basin only rarely to allow for a glimpse of it. Deleuze and Guattari's (1980/2004) exclamation in echo of Virginia Woolf comes to mind: "This animal is this place!" (290). Apart from the particular temporality it fosters, this peculiar, liminal, animal-place in the Zoological Gardens is marked by the relation to rain and water:

⁵⁶ The peculiarity of 'dialectical images' for Benjamin pertains to the fact that they exceed chronological ordering, where one event follows another one in a linear sequence. They make apprehensible a potential residing within the given, thus jumping out of ordinary temporality, as it were. In so doing, these images announce what In *On the Philosophy of History* Benjamin (1968) calls 'now-time' (*Jetzt-Zeit*). On the 'dialectical image' see also Wolin (1994), and on now-time see Lindroos (1998) and Löwy (2005).

[W]hen I gazed into his water, it always seemed as though the rain poured down in all the street drains of the city, only to end up in this basin and nourish its inhabitant. For this was the abode of a pampered animal whose empty, damp grotto was more a temple than a refuge. It was the sacred animal of the rainwater. (Benjamin 1938/2006: 80)

In its imaginary association with rain and drains, the water is the element that brings the child's everyday life in the city and its houses and streets in connection with the otter's kennel where it 'ends up'. The water 'nourishes' the otter, which is "pampered" and inhabits its grotto as a "temple". A bit later, the narrator contemplates how the child's own most intimate place, the bourgeois house he had grown up in, is articulated simultaneously with rain and the otter – producing a profound feeling of *geborgenheit*:

In a good rain I was entirely *geborgen*. And it would whisper to me of my future [*meine Zukunft rauschte es mir zu*], as one sings a lullaby beside the cradle. How well I understood that it nurtures growth. In such hours behind the grey-gloomed window I was at home with the otter. (81)

The little boy is *geborgen* in the rain, and, simultaneously, at home with the otter. This intensive link between the two places is elaborated in a further passage. After describing that he could have spent long, sweet days at the otter's fence without getting enough of its sight (or perhaps rather its non-sight), the narrator invokes the animal's "secret affinity" to rain, remarking on rainy days: "For, to me, the sweet long day was never longer, never sweeter, than when a fine- or thick-toothed rain slowly combed it hours and minutes [*ihm langsam Stunden und Minuten strähnte*]." (80) The wording sounds as unconventional in German as in English. What is meant is that by 'combing' ["*strähnte*"] the day, the rain singles out, separates or accentuates the day's hours and minutes – in a perpetual, virtually infinite, manner contemplated by the child's looking out the window. (The German word '*strähnen*' is more to the

point here than ‘combing’, as it literally means ‘dividing into separate strains’.) The peculiar temporality of a long sweet rainy day, which whispers of the boy’s future, combines with the ‘prophetic corner’ of the otter, intensifying the sense of ‘nourishment’ and “growth”, producing a profound sense of *geborgenheit*.

Unfortunately, in the English version the temporal resonance between the animal-place and the rain, a sense of infinite time which they both create for the child, gets lost due to mistranslation. As a result of the proximity of Benjamin’s talk about the animal and about the rain in the text, the translator erroneously inserted “combed *the animal* for hours and minutes” (my emphasis), confusing the day with the animal.⁵⁷

Benjamin’s text presents a whole constellation of intense images – the otter’s temple-like kennel in a ‘prophetic corner’ of the Zoological Gardens, the peculiar temporality of the rainy day, the lullaby sung by the cradle. What these images have in common are dynamics of *geborgenheit* that resonate with each other so as to articulate into an intense image of *geborgenheit*. *Geborgenheit* here does not ensue from a mere actualisation of hegemonic tropes of authenticity, nor from their negation or opposition. The particular intensity of *geborgenheit* pertains to a series of experiences of spatial and temporal liminality, experiences that take shape at the margins of ordinary urban life and that are thus simultaneously of and beyond the bourgeois world. Nothing seems more ordinary for a bourgeois child like Benjamin to do than strolling around in the zoo and watching the rain. An individualist way of living and relating to the world is expressed here. Yet, experiencing *geborgenheit* with an otter while watching the rain, sensing a strange connection between the

⁵⁷ This mistranslation is all the more unfortunate as it was possible only by means of obvious grammatical and verbal interventions. The translator turned “ihm” (“it”), which, grammatically speaking, can only be an indirect object, into a direct one (“the animal”), and the direct object (“hours and minutes”) into a simple period of time, inserting the word “for”.

animal's liminality, the water of the city and a potential for growth, seems to border on the schizophrenic.

In evoking the intense image, or constellation of images, of *geborgenheit*, Benjamin mobilises the semantics of nesting in a space that shelters and simultaneously fosters well-being and growth. This sense of nested-ness and growth has got an intensity all of its own that cannot be reduced to a set of given associations or tropes. Instead, it runs from the quite classical image of a lullaby sung by the cradle to the somewhat rarer image of *geborgenheit* in the rain and to the rather unlikely image of *geborgenheit* with the otter. Benjamin's text thus provides coordinates for a cartography of intense subjective-spatial relations as they contingently unfold across the different eventful places of the child's life. It indicates how it is possible to apprehend a variety of affective dynamics of *geborgenheit* that pertain to, yet also exceed, hegemonic formations of power, such as bourgeois individualism.

'Eventful places' is perhaps an adequate term to designate the intersection of spatial and temporal aspects, which already appeared in the recurrent image of a baby in the adult's arms and is very pronounced here. On the one hand, there is a sense of being sheltered and being well, and, on the other, there is a sense of futurity, of a spatiality nurturing growth. Both of these aspects together foster the joyful inhabiting of and opening up to these eventful places, objects and expressions. In the remainder of the chapter, I want to explicate further how this sense of *geborgenheit* can be mobilised analytically.

Beyond territory

Dynamics of *geborgenheit* are about what I have called 'subjective-spatial relations'. They indicate 'subjective' moments of being joyfully nested and possibly of sensing a potential of growth; and at the same time they indicate 'spatial' intensities that produce or enable such subjective moments. These 'spatial' intensities, moreover, cannot easily be separated from 'temporal' aspects, which can be constitutive of a space's eventful intensities. In indicating contingently unfolding relations of subjectivity, space and time, *geborgenheit* opens the analysis beyond formations that engagements with subjectivity and space have to a great extent focused on – 'home' and 'belonging' being among the most prominent ones. I want to provide a brief outline of the limitations I see in approaching subjective-spatial relations in terms of such formations, which, I argue, circulate around tropes of authenticity and/or focus on the space 'of' a subject. The notion of 'territory', which is related to 'home' and 'belonging', and which I will discuss in relation to Deleuze and Guattari's (1980/2004) use, brings out such a framework quite clearly. I then highlight how *geborgenheit* exceeds this framework, and how this is of relevance to the present project.

The notion of 'home' has repeatedly been mobilised in attempts to engage with relations of subjectivity and space (e.g. Deleuze and Guattari 1980/2004; Harrison 2007; Moran 2002). There is also an extensive feminist literature that interrogates the constitution of gender and wider social relations through 'home' (e.g. McKie, Bowlby et al. 1999; hooks 1992; Massey 1994; Oakley 1974; Rose 1993). The significance of these various engagements arguably ensues from the great relevance spatialities of 'home' have had in particular in Western culture. 'Home' has played an integral role in establishing a separation between a 'private' sphere of domesticity, family life and

reproduction and a 'public' sphere of wage labour and politics (ibid.). Moreover, the formation of communities – in particular a national community – has frequently set out the parameters for feeling 'at home' somewhere. A central semantic connotation of 'home' – and which has formed a reason for its great appeal in these contexts – is that of an intimate space intensely resonating with someone's inner self. The semantics of 'home' are thus closely linked to a sense of *someone's own* spatiality, which is also why it has become a recurrent trope of authenticity (Moran 2002). This association of 'home' with someone's own, intimate spatiality, however, also pertains to approaches that explicitly trouble imaginations of 'authenticity'. Paul Harrison (2007), for instance, draws on D  r  da and L  vinas to posit a relation to alterity as constitutive of 'home', conceiving of being-at-home as the result of responding to the other's 'knock on the door'. This framing of 'home' within a self/other dialectic leaves the association of 'home' and 'self' intact, even if both terms are viewed as being constituted through an 'other'.

Even stronger than 'home', 'belonging' is commonly associated with a notion of rootedness in a community that is opposed to dislocation conceived as a negative, deficient or threatening state (Binder 2008: 9). This binary of rootedness/uprooting also evokes a binary of the own and the foreign. 'Home' and 'belonging' are thus intimately associated with a particular set of subjective-spatial relations as they have taken shape in Western modernity, setting the focus on the intimate linkage between subjects and 'their' space – even where tropes of authenticity are problematised.

Feminist and postcolonial writers have interrogated associations of 'home' and 'belonging' with gendered, racialised and nationalist spatial formations, enabling an at once more critical and more positive engagement with these questions. Discussing her work with lesbians and gays around 'safety', Leslie Moran (2002) argues that 'home' has an "indeterminate

referential quality” and may also invoke a sense of the ‘uncanny’ (see also Fortier 2001). With respect to ‘belonging’, debates around migration and national identity have indicated subjective-spatial relations that take shape outside the usual association of a subject and their ‘own’ or ‘authentic’ space as constituted by a national community (see Binder 2008; Brah 1996). These interrogations resonate strongly with my present aim. Geborgenheit, I think, may push the analysis even further towards contingently unfolding subjective-spatial relations, as its semantics are less strongly tied to the identitarian association of someone and ‘their’ space. In fact, the idea of someone ‘nesting’ somewhere does not presuppose any such association – even if identitarian relations of ‘home’ and ‘belonging’ can be amongst various other concrete forms of geborgenheit. In order to bring out the difference between an analysis focused on ‘home’ and one focused on ‘geborgenheit’ more clearly, I want to consider Deleuze and Guattari’s use of ‘home’, which they associate with their notion of ‘territory’. Such a consideration is particularly useful here, as Deleuze and Guattari’s work has been integral to developing the present methodology (as will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 4). How their use of ‘home’ and ‘territory’ differs from my use of ‘geborgenheit’ thus indicates the specific analytical possibilities opened up by ‘geborgenheit’.

‘Home’ in Deleuze and Guattari (1980/2004) is closely related to their concept of ‘territory’. They say: “Discover the territorial assemblages of someone, human or animal: ‘home’.” (555) Instead of conceptualising the territory in a dialectical framework, they emphasise its relation to a set of expressions that mark someone’s space – as in the songs of birds (e.g. 365). This conception allows Deleuze and Guattari to go beyond conceptions of ‘territory’ that focus on borders and regimes of exclusion, or on relations of the ‘same’ and the ‘other’, and instead to engage with the creative formation of territories via a range of different musical, linguistic, iconic, etc. expressions.

Territories for Deleuze and Guattari are not simply demarcated physical spaces. They are rather established through the relatively consistent repetition and ordering of various expressions, which thus come to evoke a sense of familiarity and home. Gregory Wise (2000) has discussed the relevance of such a conception of home as territory with respect to cultural studies.

This understanding of 'territory' is particularly interesting as it directs the focus away from given subjects, spaces and borders to their contingent formation through the ongoing and contingent ordering of manifold expressions (Haesbaert 2006: 99-141). In this, Deleuze and Guattari's approach is resonant and inspiring with respect to the present research, as it offers useful concepts for developing a processual and relational approach to subjectivity, space and agency (as envisioned in Ch. 1). However, as 'territory' is 'home' and 'home' is 'territory', subjective-spatial relations, and the creative emergence of a range of expressions, are again being approached through the focus on 'someone's own' spatiality (and its connections to the outer world) – even if the authors counteract the appeal to authenticity by positing these expressions as 'owned' by rather than essential to the being of a subject:

The expressive is primary in relation to the possessive; expressive qualities, or matters of expression, are necessarily appropriative and constitute a having more profound than being. Not in the sense that these qualities belong to a subject, but in the sense that they delineate a territory that will belong to the subject that carries or produces them (348-9).

The relation between subject and territory is framed here not in an essentialist way that would presuppose certain qualities of a given subject defining 'their' territory. Instead, expressions themselves are considered primary and as 'delineating a territory' that "will belong to the subject". Territory and subject are thus in a processual relationship. In *Berlin Childhood*, we might for instance

say that the otter's kennel, its 'temple' or 'abode', is its 'home' – a territory marked especially by the expressive qualities of water, which however also extend beyond the kennel itself, making the otter the "sacred animal of the rainwater". The boy himself has his 'home' in the bourgeois apartment where he grew up. Again this 'home' is defined through a consistent repetition or ordering of various expressions, rather than the physical space of the house, and may thus extend beyond the house.

Geborgenheit can also be framed in such a processual way. However, its difference with respect to 'home' and 'territory' gets clear in the otter passage when we consider that the peculiar sense of geborgenheit does not ensue from the otter being at home in his territory or from the boy being at home in his one, but rather from the boy being "at home with the otter [*beim Otter*]" – the boy feeling nested in, and opening up towards, the otter's territory. What enables this peculiar relationality is the boy's sense of geborgenheit in the rain, which in itself is not quite a 'feeling at home', but rather a sense of being nicely situated within a spatiality that 'nurtures growth'. In both cases, geborgenheit has not so much to do with a territory 'belonging to a subject', but rather with someone 'nesting in', 'joyfully inhabiting' or 'opening up to' a particular spatiality. In some cases, geborgenheit and 'home' may of course map onto one another, and sheltered- and nested-ness may pertain to 'someone's own' territory. However, this relation to territory is but one contingent possibility among others, and not essential to geborgenheit.

A similar point can be made with respect to what Deleuze and Guattari call movements of 'deterritorialisation' and 'reterritorialisation'. 'Deterritorialisation', Deleuze and Guattari's (1980/2004) explain, "is the movement by which 'one' leaves the territory" (559). Geborgenheit with the otter may well enable the boy of Benjamin's remembrance to affectively step out of his 'home' and enter a movement of 'deterritorialisation' – not in the

sense of physically leaving the space of his home, as he may still sit within it watching the rain, but in the sense of leaving the 'territory' of his home as it is constituted through a set of expressions. There may also be a moment of 'reterritorialisation', which for Deleuze and Guattari means that something 'stands in' for a lost territory, something acquires a 'value of home' (see 193; 360; 560). Indeed, the boy's *geborgenheit* is a kind of 'at home-ness', a sense of being 'at home with the otter'. Yet, again, in the case of *geborgenheit* such relations to 'territory' are contingent. Movements of becoming or normalisation do not need to be understood as essentially related to leaving or re-invoking a territory, and are hence not necessarily movements of 'de-' and 'reterritorialisation' in this sense.

Dynamics of *geborgenheit*, then, unfold as contingent subjective-spatial relations of joyful nesting and opening up to a spatiality – which may but does not need to involve issues of 'home' or 'territory' (or even de- and reterritorialisation). In the remainder of the chapter, I want to indicate some key implications a focus on *geborgenheit* has with respect to engagements with subjective-spatial relations more broadly, and with respect to the present research more specifically.

Engaging subjective-spatial relations through *geborgenheit*

The notion of 'subjective-spatial relations' directs attention to concrete ways in which the subjective and the spatial are entwined and constitutive of each other. *Geborgenheit* is particularly useful for engaging with contingent subjective-spatial relations as it opens up common framings of the interrelations of the 'subjective' and the 'spatial' where a space is considered as 'belonging to' or being 'appropriated by' a subject. The sense the word

Geborgenheit evokes, and that I mobilise analytically, is not one of straightforward agentic ‘appropriating’, ‘dominating’ or even ‘creating’ a space. *Geborgenheit* thus does not set a focus on the formation of subjects themselves, their agentic powers and their territories. An engagement with *geborgenheit* rather calls for specifying in each case what the concrete dynamics are that evoke and enable a sense of nested-ness or growth, with what kinds of effects. This opens the view to a range of contingent ways in which diverse matters, such as atmospheres and aesthetics, forms of relations and sociality, other people, animals and objects, and so on, come to create a spatiotemporal intensity of *geborgenheit*. If someone is *geborgen* in a queer space – to use an example of direct relevance to the present research – this does not necessarily imply that their subjectivity ‘reterritorialises on’ the intensities of queerness at play – that she will appropriate the space’s queerness, become queer, and make the space her ‘home’. (Deleuze and Guattari 1980/2004 use the formulation of something ‘reterritorialising on’ something, in order to express the relational dynamics that are involved, e.g. as a place becomes a subject’s ‘home’, whereby the subject adopts expressions that are characteristic of the home.) Instead, this sense of *geborgenheit* may indicate a range of further affective dynamics, such as gaining capacities to face problems at home by inhabiting a temporary refuge, or becoming able to feel part of the city where this space is located. The question of *geborgenheit* thus loosens the link between ‘subject’ and ‘territory’, yet simultaneously highlights intense affective relations as they contingently unfold. Such relations are of particular relevance to my discussion of queer people’s enactments of sameness and difference and formations of agency and citizenship.

Furthermore, *geborgenheit* calls attention to processes of transformation and becoming. The constitution of a relation of *geborgenheit* – fleeting and instable as it may be – signals a moment of someone opening up

to and entering into a joyful interaction with a spatiality. A sense of futurity may intensify this dynamic of transformation. Such dynamics of transformation are of relevance with respect to questions of agency and citizenship, if these are viewed as contingent formations emerging from ongoing interactions and events. An attentiveness to *geborgenheit*, in other words, helps in bringing out the contingent formation of agency and citizenship, which is precisely what the present research aims to do in relation to queer people and LGBT politics of public security.

In order to mobilise *geborgenheit* in this way, however, it is necessary to elaborate further how 'agency' can be imagined as a processual and relational formation. The question of *geborgenheit* can be conducive to an imagination that considers contingent formations of agency in relation to affective and embodied dynamics of subjectivities-in-space. Gilles Deleuze's philosophy is particularly useful for developing such an approach to agency. It offers an 'affective' conception of 'agency' that focuses on a body's capacity to act and relate to other bodies. *Geborgenheit* can then be understood as a particular kind of 'positive' affect, as it indicates moments where a body becomes able to joyfully inhabit and open up to a spatiality. It thus indicates subjective-spatial relations or dynamics that are constitutive of formations of agency as they emerge or consolidate. It is this issue of 'emergent formations of agency' that the following chapter turns to. Before, however, I want to present a vignette from my fieldwork that provides a 'snapshot' of how questions of agency can be approached through a focus on *geborgenheit* in the context of this research.

SNAPSHOT: PRECARIOUS DYNAMICS OF GEBORGENHEIT

On my first field trip to Rio de Janeiro in April/May 2007 – shortly after having participated in the 1st National Seminar on Public Security and the Combat of Homophobia mentioned in the Preface – an incident happened that entangled me, even if only for a moment, right in the midst of the issues around homophobic violence, security and geborgenheit addressed by this research. I want to use this incident in order to provide a better idea of what implications a juxtaposition of the issues of security and geborgenheit – as suggested in Chapter 1 – has in terms of the analytical questions getting asked and the political interventions being envisioned, in and beyond this research.

While being out at night with Paulo⁵⁸, who lives in Rio, we became subject to an assault in Rio de Janeiro's *Centro*. We were standing in front of an old gay and trans club, Cabaret Casanova,⁵⁹ in the Lapa district, which is the area in Rio where most bars, discos and live music venues are concentrated. Although Lapa has in the past two decades become a target of urban redevelopment and gentrification programs, people gathering in the area at night are more diverse than in the Southern Zone leisure areas in Ipanema, where predominantly wealthier and whiter locals and tourists go. At night, the atmosphere often gets very lively, people gather on the streets, some drink, flirt or dance. There are a couple of places catering specifically to lesbian, gay and trans people, although Cabaret Casanova used to be the only one where many of them would regularly gather in a bigger number out on the pavement. It is

⁵⁸ His name and the names of research participants have been changed for the sake of anonymity.

⁵⁹ In 2008, the club gave way to the club 'Lapa Mix', which caters to a predominantly heterosexual crowd.

not rare to see two women or men, and possibly also trans people, kissing there, which is not that common elsewhere on the streets of Lapa.⁶⁰

At night, a crowd of gays, lesbians and some trans people would often gather on the broad pavement in front of Cabaret Casanova, frequently being traversed by people walking the area. The following excerpts are translated transcriptions from a voice recording that I made (in German) some hours after the incidents. The first excerpt reads:

We are standing in front of Cabaret Casanova – gays, lesbians, a mixed crowd, street vendors, passers-by, people who are waiting for the bus. Hot kisses, our bodies envelop each other [*bergen sich*]. Gazes from around – gazes of admiration, of excitement, possibly also of astonishment. Suddenly, a blow on the back of my head. I look, I turn around and see three, four guys, heavy guys, walking by, at the same time yelling something. They have already walked on, though, they are walking hurriedly. I am composed. I open my water bottle in order to drink, although I don't feel like drinking at all. Paulo is horrified. With eyes wide open he gazes after them. Around us: astonishment and horror; but not much intervention. 'This never happened to me here!', says Paulo. We stay close to each other, embrace one another, after a while we are kissing again. Someone shouts from somewhere – saying, I think, we are supposed to stop. The protected atmosphere starts to crumble. But we're defiant. I am thinking that one also has to fight for queer places [*queere Orte*]. (Memo, 1 May 2007)

As a result of the recent developments in the area of public security, which the Brazilian LGBT movement has pushed forward, homophobic assaults such as this one can now – at least in certain cases and spaces – be registered with the

⁶⁰ It should be mentioned that there is also a major travesti sex-work area in Lapa, which forms a kind of queer territory of its own. I will come back to Lapa in Chapters 6 and 7.

police. Moreover, it is possible to consider and make a case for preventive actions like place-bound policing, and the provision of psychological or juridical assistance to the victim. These are the sorts of intervention that were discussed during the Seminar on Public Security I had attended several days before this incident, which made me bodily experience their acute pertinence. During the seminar I had also become more aware of the fierce political struggles involved in trying to mobilise the Brazilian police – which has been associated with a violent and homophobic macho culture – for the sake of LGBT people. Yet, this question of securitisation is only part of what seems of relevance to me in the present case. A further aspect – which leads to the question of *geborgenheit* – has to do with the unfolding of positive subjective-spatial relations, which cannot easily be grasped in terms of a ‘victim’ of violence in need of securitisation. The fact of Cabaret Casanova providing a ‘queer place’ forms part of what is at stake here.

-- The pavement in front of Cabaret Casanova is for me a kind of “queer place” with a “protected atmosphere”. With “queer place” I mean a place fostering the enactment of certain desires, identities and practices which challenge hegemonic norms and which are discouraged in other places. Part of this sense of a ‘queer place’ has to do with an eroticism of various bodies interacting through talk, looks or touch, which, furthermore, resonates with the wider atmosphere of the district. ‘Protected atmosphere’ refers here less to a regime of defences against threats, but rather to the set of affirmative and joyful dynamics that encourage such enactments. There are, for instance, no physical barriers demarcating the place, which is constantly being traversed by various people. The queer crowd itself mixes with vendors, people waiting for the bus or standing there casually. The fact of Cabaret Casanova being precisely not an exclusive space forms part of its intensities, as this creates a certain sense of openness or publicness – yet it also produces an exposure to

risks. Simultaneously, a number of gay, lesbian, trans or queer bodies inhabit and interact in this place, possibly sharing some knowledge regarding its history, and considering it a place that enables them to express themselves in ways they cannot easily do elsewhere. The place is thus already appropriated or 'reterritorialised' in a particular, queer, way (although with respect to its more 'heteronormative' surroundings it might simultaneously have a 'deterritorialising' effect). It is 'reterritorialised' in Deleuze and Guattari's (1980/2004) sense of the place having 'acquired a value of home' (see Ch. 2): its various expressions – which from the standpoint of outsiders may seem 'strange' or even 'abnormal' – have become familiar for the subjects who inhabit it; these subject, at least to an extent, consider the place as 'belonging' to them and have made its expressions their own ones.

These various intensities or dynamics of queerness-in-public, however, do not only constitute a sense of being 'at home'. They may also be experienced and intensified by subjects who have not necessarily 'reterritorialised on' the place by adopting its expressions, yet nonetheless feel comfortably nested and are able to open up to and joyfully inhabit the space. The place, in other words, fosters a kind of *geborgenheit* – which is related to its queer reterritorialisation, yet not limited to it. For Paulo and me, a feeling of being protected or sheltered ensues that can be called 'geborgenheit' and which, to an extent, we indulge in and intensify through flirting and kissing.⁶¹

This affective and erotic scenario of *geborgenheit* gets disrupted by a blow on my head from one of a small group of "heavy guys". The initial effect is one of shock and a kind of composed inactivity. One could say that Paulo and I had succumbed to a 'false sense of security'. However, with respect to the question of *geborgenheit*, such a 'false sense' does not really exist – the

⁶¹ Part of this intensification is evoked by our bodies 'enveloping' (*bergen*) one another – the verb '*bergen*' forming the root for the noun '*Geborgenheit*', as has been mentioned in the previous chapter.

intensities of the place were very real; in fact, they are real and strong enough for us to start kissing again in spite of what happened. This indicates precisely the relevance of considering such dynamics of *geborgenheit*, as they have an efficacy of their own –which will be elaborated further in the following chapter in relation to the question of ‘agency’.

What makes the scenario eventually shift has to do not only with some insight in the factual danger of kissing in public, but with our (or at least my) sense that the affirmative atmosphere of collectively claiming and inhabiting the place “starts to crumble”, in particular after someone shouts that we better stop. As *geborgenheit* begins to disintegrate, a different set of affective dynamics gains weight, which is expressed in the continuation of my diary entry, where I reflect on the effects of the incident:

A blow – it came from nowhere. From behind. All of a sudden. Unexpectedly. Yet, what is bothering me afterwards is not the blow. The blow itself, the memory of the blow, the humiliation, were not so bad. It wasn’t really a humiliation for me, since it was just a manifestation of intolerance. But what is bad is that next time it could be a bottle or a plank. Which is where fear comes in.

This passage raises some further issues. It calls attention to the role that forms of “humiliation” may play in relation to acts of violence. In this particular case, however, I resist the position of the humiliated, positing the perpetrator as ‘intolerant’ instead. What exerts an incisive effect, meanwhile, is the spatiotemporal rupture brought about by the blow, in connection with a growing fear about further assaults that might be worse. The blow “came from nowhere” and “all of a sudden”. Paulo seems to be as surprised as myself, as he had commented: “This never happened to me here!” What thus remains is an acute, and to an extent immobilising, sense of the unpredictable and uncontrollable nature of homophobic violence. Nonetheless, we choose to

‘defy’, and this moment of defiance brings in a further affirmative dynamic that unfolds, so to speak, at the margins of *geborgenheit*, where a sense of *geborgenheit* has begun to disintegrate and given way to a feeling of fear.

This case indicates various aspects of a desire for, and enactment of, *geborgenheit* by two young gay men, a local and a foreigner, in Rio de Janeiro’s *Centro*; simultaneously, it brings out the precarity of such an enactment in the face of relations of violence. The incident is quite specific in that it revolves around what could be called a ‘metropolitan’ problematic, where claims to the public expression of same-sex affection, or even to ‘being gay’ are made, and where there is a sense of a ‘public’ and simultaneously ‘queer’ space. The question thus emerges of how same-sex enactments may be affirmed in contexts where there are not as clearly ‘reterritorialised’ queer spaces. Moreover, the issue of ‘violence’ at stake here has to do with a very particular manifestation of physical violence by strangers in public, which raises the question of what kinds of affective dynamics might be of relevance to other kinds of situation, for instance violence committed by family members in the home environment. This case thus calls attention to the complexities involved in pursuing questions around *geborgenheit* and in/security with respect to queer life and politics in Brazil.

Moreover, this case is expressive of my embodied entanglement, as researcher and situated being, in the issues at stake. This does not mean that I could use my own experience for the sake of a straightforward ‘representation’ of these issues. (Already the fact that my stays in Rio de Janeiro were temporally limited introduces a notable difference with respect to people like Paulo, who inhabit the city (more) permanently.) Neither does it mean that this incident has entirely shaped my subsequent research. This case rather shows that it would be impossible for me to assume the position of an objective observer. Moreover, it indicates how my own affective implication opens up

possibilities for engaging the dynamics at stake – in a situated and contingent, rather than disentangled and transcendent way.

Maybe this case can best be regarded as a snapshot of complex dynamics of *geborgenheit* that unfold, and are partially disrupted, in relation to specific queer enactments of sameness and difference. These dynamics pertain to the spatial context of a ‘queer place’ in the lively Lapa district as well as to the various subjective moments of joyfully inhabiting this place, same-sex desire, defiance of restrictions and a (‘crumbling’) sense of collective reterritorialisation. It thus seems useful to talk about unfolding ‘subjective-spatial relations’ that pertain to the ways in which the subjective and the spatial are entwined and constitutive of each other. Within the meshes of such complex subjective-spatial relations, the question of *geborgenheit* accentuates a set of affective articulations that are significant in that they constitute a ‘vector’ oriented towards the joyful inhabiting of, and opening up in relation to, the spatial context under consideration. Paulo and I, in this reading, let ourselves become affected by the specific dynamics of *geborgenheit* of the place, actualising, and further fostering, these dynamics through our erotic enactment, and simultaneously joyfully inhabiting of this place – especially before the unexpected blow on my head from behind. After the assault, the scenario changes. Apart from the fearful sense of unpredictability ensuing from the blow, the ways in which other people around us behave also play a role here, and I go along with the advice to stop kissing, given by an anonymous voice from the crowd. Interestingly, this advice could be read either as a distancing from public expressions of same-sex affection or as a manifestation of care or concern for our and other people’s safety – which could still form part of a collective act of inhabiting and claiming the space, but would simultaneously indicate the limitations of such an act. At any rate, the vectors

of geborgenheit lose some of their consistency – get to an extent reassembled, however, in terms of a ‘defiant’ enactment.

A consideration of such dynamics of geborgenheit, precarious as they may be, can complicate the question of securitisation in interesting ways. It opens the view beyond prevalent images of a victimised LGBT population and protagonistic activists to formations of agency that emerge from spatial encounters and dynamics. Dynamics of geborgenheit, however, are not necessarily or straightforwardly ‘enabling’, ‘resistant’ or ‘subversive’. They may involve the embracing and constitution of norms as much as their challenging (although I do not wish to go into any deeper analysis of this case here). Contingent formations of agency need thus to be considered in relation to the enactments of both difference and sameness by which they are mediated, in a concrete context. Importantly, such a consideration does not render the question of securitisation irrelevant, but rather allows it to be posed in ways that exceed a governmental framework. With respect to the mentioned incident it could thus be asked to what extent preventive policing might change affective dynamics that constitute the place’s open and queer atmosphere in both positive and negative ways. For instance, while the presence of specialised police activity might counteract the fear resulting from the sense of the unpredictability and uncontrollability of homophobic violence, people might not be able to enjoy themselves as much if the police are around. Moreover, entrusting the task of securitisation to the police might interfere with a sense of collectively territorialising the place. What, then, are effective means of countering violence that foster rather than impede emergent formations of agency? If queer people are viewed not only as potential victims of violence in need of state protection but as implicated in affective dynamics that constitute agency, the question of securitisation needs to be posed in new ways.

4. EMERGENT FORMATIONS OF AGENCY

*In its essence, difference is the object of affirmation or affirmation itself. In its essence,
affirmation is itself difference. Gilles Deleuze⁶²*

*The point is to make a difference in the world,
to cast our lot for some ways of life and not others.
To do that, one must be in the action, be finite and dirty,
not transcendent and clean.*

Donna Haraway⁶³

.. Imaginations of political forms of ‘agency’ have been a defining aspect of LGBT activism in Brazil (and, arguably, of contemporary social movements at large). ‘Overthrowing the dictatorship’, ‘liberating homosexuals’, ‘becoming citizens’ – such diverse objectives have been framed within an imagination of subjects agentially transforming the social conditions of their existence. Public articulations of the LGBT movement are accompanied with remarkable consistency by a rhetoric where activists stage themselves and the wider LGBT movement as ‘protagonists’ in the struggle for full legal and social citizenship. Toni Reis, president of the Brazilian LGBT Association (ABGLT), thus titled a report on the 11th National Human Rights Conference (*11ª Conferência Nacional dos Direitos Humanos*, Dec. 2008, Brasília), “*De vítimas a protagonistas...*” – “From victims to protagonists”. In the report, he summons an “historical moment of

⁶² Deleuze (1968/1994: 63–4)

⁶³ Haraway (1997: 36)

Brazilian democracy and the exercise of citizenship”.⁶⁴ The performative staging of collective agency was also a characteristic, if not constitutive, aspect of the 1st National LGBT Conference in 2008, which was the hitherto largest Brazilian LGBT conference where activists, professionals and state representatives came together. After Reis pointed out the historical significance of this event in the opening panel, President Lula da Silva conjoined in this gesture, emphasising that it makes him proud to hear “that never before in the history of this planet a president launched a conference like this one”.⁶⁵ Later, he posed with a rainbow flag and got decorated with a rainbow cap by a trans activist, thus emphatically inserting himself into the scenario of collective agency.

Implicit to activist practice, we could thus say, is a notion of agency that, as Diana Coole puts it, has been “central to modern conceptions of politics since it is agents that are accredited with the power to bring about effective change in collective life” (2005: 124). The tropes of ‘protagonism’ and ‘making history’ have been formative of this understanding of history – along with such liberal notions as individualism, freedom, rationality or autonomy, as Coole points out. In this project, I want to hold on to a consideration of agentic forms of effectuating change in collective life and the world. Yet, like Coole does in the remainder of her article, I am taking a distance from settled assumptions regarding agency. Instead of locating agency within certain kinds of ‘agentic’ subjects or ‘liberal’, ‘autonomous’, etc. engagements per se, I conceive of agency as a much more relational and contingent capacity that emerges from a given, spatiotemporally concrete, constellation. With this, I do not wish to dismiss the importance that the staging of agency in activist

⁶⁴ The report was originally circulated to mailing lists, and can be accessed, under a slightly different title, at <http://afinsophia.wordpress.com/2008/12/21/o-mundo-e-gay-43/> (accessed on 8 May 2010).

⁶⁵ President Lula da Silva’s speech is available at <http://www.imprensa.planalto.gov.br/download/discursos/pr714-2@.doc> (accessed on 8 May 2010).

contexts, as in the examples mentioned, can have in political practice and in generating a sense of transformative potential. Yet, limiting the view to such established imaginations of agency hinders an engagement with further formations of agency.

Celebrations of agency have long been accompanied by critiques – within the Brazilian LGBT movement itself – of the strongly ‘show-like’ character of seminars and events, which are ripe with promise and the will for improvement, yet all too often do not lead to effective change. To provide a more recent case, in December 2009, the prominent activist Luiz Mott, sent an e-mail⁶⁶ to mailing-lists pointing out a discrepancy between President Lula’s performative declarations and a lack of effective action, comparing this scenario to the one evoked by Lula’s predecessor Fernando Henrique Cardoso, who entered Brazilian LGBT historiography by being the first Brazilian president to say ‘homosexual’ in an official talk, in 1996, and also publicly posed with a rainbow flag in his hands. Mott’s central claim introduces the antithesis to the scenario of ‘making history’ and protagonistic change: “The same history gets repeated, and everything continues as before”. This statement could be paraphrased in a pointed way as: *We are making history, yet everything stays the same!*

But a need to move beyond performatively staged scenarios of agency is also indicated by the bifurcation mentioned in Chapter 1, on which the prevalent rhetoric of agency is based. While activists appear as protagonists in the struggle for citizenship that heroically step out of the position of the victim, ordinary queers are getting situated in the much more mundane, if not all the more ‘victimised’, position of a minority population in the need of governmental care. To be sure, actually being able to claim public goods and

⁶⁶ The e-mail dates from 21 Dec. 2009.

services can mean a significant gain in the capacity to act and live, yet the concrete ways in which such capacities unfold need further interrogation.

Understanding agency as emergent and contingent rather than tied to prevalent rhetoric, identities or forms of enactment per se resonates with feminist, queer and postcolonial writings that have interrogated Western critical traditions of thought in terms of their understandings of political agency that are deeply entrenched in modern regimes of power. Judith Butler (1990), for instance, has famously ‘troubled’ what she sees as a hegemonic subject of feminism that is based on a category of ‘woman’ which assumes naturalised relations between (hetero)sexuality, the (unambiguous, apparently ‘natural’) female body, and the (again unambiguous) female gender. More than just destabilising the category of ‘woman’, Butler aims to transgress the very logic that assumes a preceding ‘subject’ that would animate politics.⁶⁷ Saba Mahmood’s (2005) discussion of a women’s mosque movement in Cairo provides another pertinent case, calling attention in particular to the significance of bodily relations in the constitution of a spatially and historically specific form of agency. By cultivating the ideal of a virtuous self and thus becoming bodily ‘docile’ to a set of (more or less ‘traditional’) norms and practices, Mahmood argues, these women develop new agentic capacities that also effectuate certain transformations within Egyptian society. While women’s ‘docility’ with respect to certain norms of piety might appear as mere submission to patriarchal domination, Mahmood points out that in this particular context it actually implies embodied transformations. This case thus troubles established liberal assumptions around agency according to which “all human beings have an innate desire for freedom, that we all somehow seek to assert our autonomy when allowed to do so, that human agency primarily

⁶⁷ Butler argues in favour of a critical genealogy that “trace[s] the political operations that produce and conceal what qualifies as the juridical subject of feminism” (1990: 9).

consists of acts that challenge social norms and not those that uphold them, and so on” (5). In various strands of cultural studies related arguments have been made.⁶⁸ Coole (2005) identifies some of the philosophical tropes that guide the mobilisation of agency in many cases, critiquing the concept’s a priori association with “notions of subjectivity and individuality [...] and [...] ideas about responsibility, autonomy, rationality and freedom” (124). Such notions, she argues, can only provide specific, spatially and historically contingent, articulations of agency amongst others (124-5).

These various critical engagements aim to get away from ready-made accounts of agency and political subjectivity that risk affirming hegemonic regimes of power and make it hard to engage with contingent articulations of agency. Let me mention that, while my focus in this chapter is on the notion of ‘agency’, a related argument has been made with respect to ‘citizenship’. Isin’s (2009) text provides a case in point, as he notes that “the actors of citizenship cannot be defined in advance of the analysis of a given site and scale” (whereby he means an analysis of concrete “fields of contestation” and “scopes of applicability” appropriate to them, 370). As explained in Chapter 1, I address ‘citizenship’, like agency, through a focus on unfolding affective dynamics. The following elaborations are thus also relevant to the issues of citizenship that are discussed later on in the thesis, and where the emphasis is on staking claims to a collectivity.

While there is some agreement regarding the dangers involved in mobilising too simple a notion of political agency, the question of how to engage this issue differently has been more intricate. This question is directly related to differences in analytical and ethicopolitical styles. Among the

⁶⁸ A number of writings, for instance, have exposed a tendency within cultural studies to focus on overtly ‘resistant’ practices and identities and assume simplistic binaries of dominance vs. resistance (e.g. Halberstam 2008; Love 2007; MacRobbie 1991; Massey 2005: 45-6; Schober 2009; Walkerdine 1997; see also Hutta 2010: 148-50).

approaches that have rejected simplistic strategies of ‘giving voice’ to marginal, allegedly ‘resistant’, enactments and identities, it seems that approaches that can be termed ‘deconstructive’ and ‘negative’ have been the most prevalent. The present chapter mobilises Deleuze’s (1970/1988) work on ‘affect’ in order to move beyond such approaches, which will be briefly outlined in the following section. However, recent critiques of ‘affect’ have called attention to the danger of enacting an abstract, disembodied and reductive (if not ‘masculinist’) style of theorising – in particular in relation to what in human geography has been termed ‘non-representational theory’ (Thrift 2000). In view of these critiques I reroute the Deleuzian approach through feminist receptions (in particular by Braidotti 2002 and Massey 2005).

After thus elaborating a conceptual approach to emergent formations of agency the chapter indicates how this research develops a more ‘philosophical’ approach further in a decidedly ‘worldly’ way. This entails, firstly, to articulate Deleuzian concepts with notions that are more pronouncedly bound up with the concrete issues at stake in this project (in particular the notions of *geborgenheit* and *aconchego*); and, secondly, to further elaborate the question of agency in relation to issues around norms and difference that are pertinent to queer people and LGBT politics. The chapter ends with a further explication of the notion of ‘enactments of sameness and difference’, which is used to refract agency through such issues of norms and difference.

Ethics of ‘negativity’

‘Critique’, ‘negation’ and ‘deconstruction’ have been guiding terms in the fields of social, cultural and philosophical analysis. While these fields are too ample

to be discussed here in any detail, I want to briefly outline what I see – along with various other writers (e.g. Braidotti 2002; Massey 2005) – as a recurrent analytical style, which the present research aims to transcend.

Theodor Adorno (1951/2005), in his moral philosophical and aphoristic *Minima Moralia*, provides an explicit account of this analytical style, which he himself adheres to throughout much of his work. For this purpose, Adorno makes reference to the philosopher Friedrich Hegel, noting that his own aphorisms “insist, in opposition to Hegel’s practice and yet in consequence of his thought, on negativity” (16).⁶⁹ Negativity, for Adorno, is ‘in consequence’ of Hegel’s thought, as Hegel was among the writers that brought out the (apparent) significance of negativity most clearly. Adorno thus continues his argument by quoting from Hegel’s *Phenomenology of Mind*:

‘The life of the mind only attains its truth when discovering itself in absolute desolation [*Zerrissenheit*]. The mind is not this power as a positive which turns away from the negative, as when we say of something that it is null, or false, so much for that and now for something else; it is this power only when looking the negative in the face, dwelling upon it.’ (Adorno 1951/2005: 16)

In this view, tarrying with the negative is a necessary condition for truth. In Adorno’s critical inflexion of Hegel, which he terms “melancholy science” [*“traurige Wissenschaft”*] (15), a suspension of the positive may in particular counteract the will to arrive at ready solutions and the idea that problems, once identified, can be easily overcome on the way up the ladder of linear social and political progress (something that Adorno denounces in Hegel himself). The neo-Lacanian cultural critique Slavoj Žižek takes a quite similar stance in relation to the issue of negativity, as a title of one of his books already

⁶⁹ The English translation has been changed in order to approximate the German original (Adorno 1951: 10).

indicates: *Tarrying with the Negative* (Žižek 1993). Again, Hegelian thinking inspires Žižek's work.⁷⁰

Lacanian and neo-Lacanian approaches as well as 'critical theory' as developed by Adorno and what has been called the 'Frankfurt School' of social theory have been among the approaches where an 'ethics of negativity' has been pronounced most starkly. The notion of 'critique' deployed by Adorno and others is focused on 'negating' that which is identified as 'wrong'. More precisely, it means bringing out the limits of claims made for certain kinds of knowledge, such that these kinds of knowledge can be shown to be artificial and serving particular interests. (I will come back to what this might mean in the practice of the present research.) A similar methodological focus on 'critique' is also characteristic of 'deconstructive' approaches that follow the approach developed by French philosopher Jacques Derrida (1967/1998) in relation to texts. Derridean deconstruction aims to expose the internal contradictions of texts, thus indicating how their apparent coherence is fictitious and eclipses a range of excessive meanings, on which it is actually founded. Judith Butler's (1990) work on 'performativity' and some aspects of Michel Foucault's work also focus on denouncing and 'negating' apparently stable formations of knowledge and practice, although I do not wish to go into any further detail here.

The analytical style of approaches centred on 'negation', 'critique' and 'deconstruction' is characterised by a concern with exposing and destabilising regimes of power. The ethicopolitical claim explicitly attached to this kind of engagement by writers like Adorno (1951/2005) or Butler (1990) is that it enables something different – which is said to be eclipsed in the texts and practices under consideration – to emerge. A central problem, however is that

⁷⁰ The psychoanalyst and writer Jacques Lacan, who Žižek extensively uses, has drawn extensively on Hegel's philosophy, in particular as a consequence of the revival of Hegel in French philosophy promoted by Russian-French philosopher Alexandre Kojève (1902-68).

this 'something different' is addressed in abstract or otherwise problematic ways (cf. Guattari and Rolnik 2008: 403; Massey 2005), which has direct implications for imagining agency. The 'excess' of power meant to emerge from negation tends to be merely gestured towards, to be posited as undifferentiated, or to be conceived in close relation to the regimes of power, in terms of a mere 'failure' of such regimes or as the manifestation of an 'other' that is again defined only in dependence to the 'same'. As Doreen Massey (2005) has argued in her discussion of space: "Conceptualising things in this manner produces a relation to those who are other which is in fact endlessly the same. It is a relation of negativity, of distinguishing *from*." (51) Rosi Braidotti (2002: 67) makes a similar argument in relation to feminist writings that invoke the feminine as exceeding masculinist formations of power yet as marked by 'symbolic absence'. Her point also applies to 'negative' approaches more broadly, which seek to destabilise forms of power, yet frame what is meant to gain agency as merely 'absent' or 'distinguished from' (to use Massey's formulation). Such an analytical style, which conceives of the 'other' as mere 'lack', 'failure' or 'absence', discourages an engagement with the dynamics, trajectories and forms of organisation proper to this 'other'.

Braidotti's work is useful in this context as it not only interrogates limitations in prevalent ways of addressing agency, but also develops an alternative style of analysis – along quite similar lines as the one envisioned here. In the present research, however, the 'other' to be engaged is not simply an excluded 'subject' occupying a 'feminine position' – or one of 'homosexuality' for that matter. In my discussion of 'enactments of sameness and difference' later on in this chapter, I will come back to this issue of going beyond 'subjectivity'. 'Agency' as I am using it here does not refer to 'queer people' alone in the sense of a capacity proper to these subjects. Instead, I am interested in bringing out 'agentic potential' from within political and everyday

enactments that involve a range of heterogeneous subjects and spaces. In contrast to the ‘ethics of negativity’ characterising various approaches in the social and cultural theory, the aim is to address such agentic potential in its positivity, rather than in merely negative terms. The task is to tarry with the problems and complexities at stake, rather than with the negative alone.

A Deleuzian approach of ‘affirmation’

As the previous section has already indicated, the questions of how to understand agency and how to approach it methodologically are intimately connected. Approaches characterised by an ‘ethics of negativity’ – while they may usefully destabilise prevalent understandings of agency in various ways – tend to approach forms of agency that exceed hegemonic regimes of power as undifferentiated or simply ‘absent’. Engaging emergent formations of agency in their positivity, by contrast, demands an entirely different approach, which goes beyond ‘negation’ and ‘critique’, and which can be called ‘affirmative’.

Affirmative approaches have emerged in various theoretical strands in particular from the late 1990s onwards. They have effectuated what Gregory Seigworth (2006: 109) marks as a re-versioning of cultural studies, which, he notes, is expressed by a revived engagement with such issues as affect, transition, ‘forces’ of life and non-human materiality. The philosophy of Gilles Deleuze, also in his collaborations with Félix Guattari, counts among the most explicit and consistent elaborations of such issues and has partly inspired the shift noted by Seigworth, resulting in what he calls a “Deleuzian ‘boom’ in cultural studies” (ibid.). In the present project, I make use of what I see as the more useful aspects of Deleuzian and Deleuze-inspired thinking. I take, however, some distance from tendencies towards abstract theorisation and

romantic notions of pure flows and becomings – which, as I will indicate, have accompanied the Deleuzian ‘boom’, but cannot always be attributed to Deleuze’s writings themselves. In particular, Deleuze and Guattari seem to offer useful conceptual tools for fashioning an affirmative engagement with emergent formations of agency – without relapsing into a simplistic version of giving voice to the marginal or indulging in the fantasy of linear progress.

Massey addresses the significance of Deleuzian philosophy when, following on from her critique of negativity cited above, she notes: “It is in their rejection of this negativity, their emphasis on affirmation, that the line of philosophy Spinoza-Bergson-Deleuze has more to offer a re-thinking of space.” (52) Braidotti (2002) makes a similar point and comments on Deleuze’s “vision and practice of philosophy that emphasizes the empowering force of affirmative passions” (66). To Massey’s statement we might add the significance further writers have had for Deleuze in this context, in particular Friedrich Nietzsche. This is evident in Deleuze’s early work *Nietzsche and Philosophy* (Deleuze 1962/2006) as well as in *Difference and Repetition* (Deleuze 1968/1994), where he is most explicit about his aim to bring out a concept of difference that is not reducible to a negation of the ‘same’. Deleuze (1968/1994) is at pains to “think difference in itself independently to the forms of representation which reduce it to the ‘Same’, and the relation of different to different independently of those forms which make them pass through the negative” (xviii). Elaborating this further, he notes:

We refuse the general alternative proposed by infinite representation: the indeterminate, the indifferent, the undifferentiated or a difference already determined as negation, implying and enveloping the negative (by the same token, we also refuse the particular alternative: negative of limitation or negative of opposition). (63)

Deleuze identifies here two problematic conceptions of difference, which have already been mentioned in the previous section: difference as undifferentiated, and difference as negation. Both conceptions of difference lead to an endless repetition of the 'same', which alone is conceived as 'differentiated' and 'positive', yet tied to what Deleuze terms "the forms of representation", hindering an affirmative engagement with 'difference in itself'.

Such 'difference in itself', by contrast, forms part of an ongoing process of emergence where nothing stays the 'same'. 'Difference' itself – and this indicates the relevance of Deleuze's philosophy with respect to this project – can be seen as productive of such emergence and transformation. Instead of simply being a 'negation' or 'undifferentiated' excess, difference is highly effective, instigating a constant process of what Deleuze calls 'becoming'. 'Difference' and 'becoming' are thus intimately aligned. Stagoll (2005) notes that 'becoming' for Deleuze means 'becoming different' and explains:

Taking his lead from Friedrich Nietzsche's early notes, Deleuze uses the term 'becoming' (*devenir*) to describe the continual production (or 'return') of difference immanent within the constitution of events, whether physical or otherwise. Becoming is the pure movement evident in changes *between* particular events. This is not to say that becoming represents a phase between two states, or a range of terms or states through which something might pass on its journey to another state. Rather than a product, final or interim, becoming is the very dynamism of change, situated between heterogeneous terms and tending towards no particular goal or end-state. (21)

Continuously unfolding events produce difference, and becoming is the very movement of this ongoing process – without, however, being reducible to a 'phase'.

An affirmation of difference, from this Deleuzian perspective, entails an intensification of becoming, of that moment which instigates and enables change. Pushing this point further, Deleuze (1968/1994) says: "In its essence, difference is the object of affirmation or affirmation itself." (63) As difference becomes effective in the moment of its affirmation, it can be seen not only as "the object of affirmation", but also as "affirmation itself". 'Difference in itself' and the affirmation of difference necessarily fall together, so that 'in its essence', difference is affirmation, which implies in turn that "[i]n its essence, affirmation is itself difference" (63-4). Positing difference *as* affirmation and affirmation *as* difference has implications for the constitution of political agency, as affirmed difference is what instigates effective change.

This connection between 'difference', 'becoming' and 'affirmation' sets out the ontological and methodological framework for positively engaging with emergent formations of agency. The dynamics of *geborgenheit* experienced by the 'happy one' in Adorno's aphorism quoted in the introduction to this part of the thesis, can be understood as 'affirmed difference': the happy one is able to positively relate to, and thus to 'affirm', the affective intensities of *geborgenheit* that emerge from the present moment. This affirmation is inherently dynamic as it takes place as part of an unfolding event where the one in the house experiences the howling wind as a 'song of his *Geborgensein*'. It involves a 'becoming' that marks a difference with respect to other events. 'Difference' in this Deleuzian understanding, is neither 'negative' nor 'undifferentiated', but rather a positive, affirmed, intensity that emerges from unfolding events.

Interestingly, in his aphorism, Adorno exceeds his own focus on negativity, which, as we have seen in Chapter 3, also characterises his engagement with *Geborgenheit*, as he aims to denounce the 'false appearance' of *Geborgenheit*. His aphorism, by contrast, indicates the possibility of a different

kind of engagement, which in particular Walter Benjamin has pursued further. While the 'unhappy' mode as it is expressed in the aphorism is characterised by an indulgence in negative affect, being oriented towards the negation or aversion of dangers of fears (if not towards utter desperation), the 'happy' mode is characterised by an affirmation of the joyful intensities emerging from the particular constellation of wind, house and its perception.

In the context of the present research with queer people, it is important to distinguish the Deleuzian understanding of 'difference as affirmation and affirmation as difference' from the critique of 'affirmation' by the queer theorist Lee Edelman (2004):

For politics, however radical the means by which specific constituencies attempt to produce a more desirable social order, remains, at its core, conservative insofar as it works to affirm a structure, to authenticate social order, which it then intends to transmit to the future in the form of its inner Child. (2-3)

Edelman rigorously opposes an ethics of 'affirmation' that "works to affirm a structure, to authenticate social order". Instead, he engages a 'negativist' discourse, as is already indicated in the title of his book: *No Future: Queer Theory and the Death Drive*. 'Affirmation' in the Deleuzian sense, however, is not about 'affirming a structure', and much less about 'authenticating social order'. It is precisely about affirming "everything of the multiple, everything of the different, everything of chance *except* what subordinates them to the One, to the Same, to necessity, everything *except* the One, the Same and the Necessary" (1968/1994: 141; emphasis in the orig.). What is at stake is thus the affirmation of 'difference in itself', which is a precondition to becoming and the transformation of a given social order.

'Affirmation' may well include some kind of 'critique' or 'negativity'. The affirmation of difference implies a 'push' towards something else – which

entails a distancing from, re-articulation of, or ‘critique’ of the given. This is, however, an ‘implicit’ kind of critique that does not essentially proceed by means of negation or contradiction but rather ensues from affirmation.⁷¹ Explicit denunciation or contradiction may, on the other hand, be mobilised as part of an affirmative project, to the extent that on another level it furthers the affirmation of difference. I now want to elaborate such an affirmative approach further in relation to the present research and for this purpose introduce Deleuze’s notions of the ‘virtual’ and ‘affect’.

Engaging virtual dynamics that ‘subsist within’ the actual

The ‘Snapshot on precarious dynamics of *geborgenheit*’ preceding this chapter has provided an example of the relevance of an affirmative approach with respect to the LGBT politics of public security and the formation of agency as addressed in this research. Before as well as after being assaulted, the two gay men in the recounted vignette positively relate to – and thus ‘affirm’ – dynamics of *geborgenheit* that emerge from the ‘queer space in public’ in the Lapa district. (In order to avoid overburdening the analysis with an invocation of my own person and subjective experience, in the present discussion it seems useful to switch to the third person regarding both subjects involved.) These dynamics are ‘differences’ in Deleuze’s sense, to the extent that they can neither be reduced to repetitions of the same pre-given practices and events,

⁷¹ This resonates with Massey’s approach in *For Space*, where she notes, after introducing the different parts of her book: “In neither of these Parts is the primary aim one of critique: it is to pull out the positive threads which enable a more lively appreciation of the challenge of space.” (15) Nonetheless, the words ‘critique’ and ‘critical’ feature quite prominently in her text, which indicates that her ‘positive’ engagement by no means precludes critique, but rather posits critique as only a particular moment in a radically affirmative project. See also Braidotti’s (2002) argument around using Deleuze to go beyond “critical theory as an exercise of negation” (73-5); as well as Johanna Motzkau’s (2007) argument around a “critique from within” (16; see also Ch. 15).

nor to their 'negation' or their undifferentiated excess. They emerge in specific ways from the eventful space with its particular atmosphere, the enactments taking place and the memories attached to it, as well as from the wider context in which this space is situated. This does not mean that the dynamics of *geborgenheit* could not also recur outside this singular occurrence and even become established as part of regimes of power. It rather means that something inherently mobile is necessarily at play, a moment of 'becoming' that unfolds precisely when what makes these dynamics 'different' is being 'affirmed'.

The question about recurrent and powerful versus singular aspects brings up a crucial issue. A Deleuzian approach does not elide formations of power in a romantic celebration of 'difference' and 'becoming' – as one might suspect when being concerned with forms of social injustice that seem stable and repetitive, rather than eventful and ripe with 'difference'. It rather calls attention to the complex, and often paradoxical, articulation of formations of power and possibilities of becoming. Such complexities and paradoxes are of great relevance to this research. A key insight we can gain from Deleuze, and which helps bringing out such emergent formations of agency, is that regimes of power *presuppose* affirmed or affirmable differences, which 'persist' or 'subsist' within and simultaneously exceed them. Grasping this 'subsistence' of 'difference' within the 'same' is vital to understanding the productivity of difference and, hence, the political relevance of its affirmation. Deleuze (1998/1994) notes:

[E]very time we find ourselves confronted or bound by a limitation or opposition, we should ask what such a situation presupposes. It presupposes a swarm of differences, a pluralism of free, wild or untamed differences; a properly differential and original space and time; all of which persist alongside the simplifications of limitation and

opposition. [...] It is not difference which presupposes opposition but opposition which presupposes difference [...]. (61-2)

Thus, for Deleuze, “free” and “untamed” differences, along with a “properly differential and original space and time” necessarily “persist alongside” oppositions, and are simultaneously accorded primacy in that the latter presuppose the former.

What gets invoked here is the distinction between a realm of ‘actuality’, ‘representation’ and ‘identity’ on the one hand, which is where limitations, oppositions and identities are played out, and a ‘non-representational’, ‘virtual’ realm of ‘affect’, on the other – a distinction that has been intensely discussed in social and cultural theory (see for instance De Landa 2002; Massumi 2002). As I will point out in relation to the question of ‘affect’, however, this discussion has partly been misguided, as the realm of ‘virtuality’ and ‘affect’ has been framed in a binary relationship with respect to the realm of ‘actuality’ or ‘representation’ (Barnet 2008; Pile 2010). So let me comment on how the relation between the ‘actual’ and the ‘virtual’ is formulated in Deleuze’s own work, as this provides the framework for my present use of these terms.

Deleuze’s philosophical project as a whole, we might say, is targeted towards an apprehension and tracing of the ‘virtual’ *as it inhabits and exceeds* the ‘actual’, and thus the intricate relations between both. The aim is to address excess in its *positivity*, as something real, effective, and simultaneously differentiated. The distinction between the ‘virtual’ and the ‘actual’ can be seen as an abstract elaboration of precisely this relationship.⁷² For Deleuze, the distinction between the ‘actual’ and the ‘virtual’ enables a break away from ‘substantialist’ philosophies that are overly concerned with forms and

⁷² As Constantin Boundas (2005) notes, the idea of the ‘virtual’ and its relation to the ‘actual’ goes back to medieval philosophy and has been mobilised especially by Henri Bergson, and later by Deleuze in his engagements with Scotus, Bergson, Spinoza and Nietzsche. To this list, I would add Deleuze’s work on Foucault.

substances as they can be readily perceived in the here and now.⁷³ Deleuze contrasts such a 'representationalist' and 'substantialist' worldview, which is 'idealistic' in that the possible is 'ideally' pre-given or pre-structured, with a thoroughly 'empiricist' ontology where everything is in a process of emergence which the 'given' is contingent upon. Even apparent 'universals' are dependent on contingent and unfolding particularities.⁷⁴ Instead of assuming a realm of non-real, representable, 'possibilities', Deleuze posits a realm of 'virtuality', which is 'real' rather than 'un-real', yet precisely not representable. It is the virtual, conceived as such a realm of the unformed and non-representational that enables the emergence of the 'actual', understood as discreet representations, bodies and states of affairs that can be perceived in a given time and space. This is precisely what the 'reality' of the virtual consists of, namely the capacity or efficiency of bringing forth formed 'actualities'. As Boundas (1996) notes, the virtual has "the efficiency (the *virtus*) of producing X. In opposition to the virtual, the possible has no reality, whereas the virtual, without being actual, is real." (86) This issue of 'efficiency' renders the virtual 'intense', that is – as will be elaborated later – 'affective'.

The virtual is not a representable 'possibility', but neither is it a simple 'negation' of the actual or an undifferentiated 'lack'. As it forms itself part of 'real' historical processes and fosters concrete effects, it can be conceived of as a set of 'relations of forces' – which is precisely how Deleuze further specifies the 'virtual' in his (1986/2006) engagement with Foucault. Such intense relations of forces operate 'below' the level of visible and sayable (i.e. representable) forms and identities, yet are simultaneously highly differentiated. As an 'intense' (and 'affective') potential, the virtual not only enables concrete

⁷³ These 'substantialist' philosophies are, implicitly or explicitly, based on a distinction between the 'possible' and the 'real', where the 'real' is simply the effect of 'realising' a set of given 'possibilities', which are, while not real, representable within already existing terms and thus to an extent also knowable in advance (cf. Boundas 1996).

⁷⁴ Deleuze marks this ontological position as 'transcendental empiricism' (see Baugh 2005).

actualisations, it also 'subsists' as unformed and not actualised excess 'within' each actualisation. Any actual form, representation or state of affairs is thus simultaneously 'intense' in that it provides the material ground for an (as yet) unformed, non-representational, virtual potential. The virtual subsists as a set of intense 'vectors' within each actual state of affairs, instigating tendencies, desires and dispositions, only some of which will then be actualised. It thus does not really 'exist' in itself, yet it is nonetheless 'effective'. This is precisely the meaning that Deleuze (1969/2004) in *The Logic of Sense* gives the word 'subsistence'.⁷⁵ Together, the virtual and the actual form part of one and the same processual 'real'. This implies that the virtual also changes along with the actual. Each actualisation of virtual relations of forces re-shuffles these forces themselves, reconstituting the virtual potential for future actualisations.

While difference, for Deleuze, is necessarily in excess of any actual state of affairs it nonetheless subsists within it as its virtual potential. The question, then, is how to affirm the virtual potential that is *simultaneously of and beyond* a given social order – i.e. a vector, pushing this order towards a different state.

To come back to the vignette around 'precarious dynamics of geborgenheit', this case indicates how an attentiveness to virtual intensities and their affirmation troubles a narrow focus on how 'vulnerable subjects' may be protected or how violence may be prevented. It indicates the affective dynamics that enable subjects to positively relate to city spaces in the first place and that have an efficacy even were the 'vulnerability' of gay subjects is acutely present. The enactment of the two gay men who embrace each other and defiantly start kissing again after having been attacked can be conceived of as

⁷⁵ Talking about the Stoic notion of 'incorporeal entities', which helps Deleuze formulate his philosophy of the virtual, he (1969/2004) notes: "They are not things or facts, but events. We cannot say that they exist, but rather that they subsist or inhere (having this minimum of being which is appropriate to that which is not a thing, a nonexisting entity)." (5) This notion of 'subsisting' thus formulates precisely the curious, minimal 'being' of incorporeal, virtual entities, or 'events', which do not themselves 'exist' yet are simultaneously 'effective'.

an expression of agentic potential that emerges from the unfolding event and its virtual affective dynamics. These dynamics are 'virtual' in Deleuze's sense in that they are as yet unformed and in the making, yet nonetheless effective and 'real'. Importantly, they do not simply form an undifferentiated excess or a mere negation of norms, but are highly differentiated, as they relate to the concrete atmosphere of the space's 'queerness-in-public', the enactments of other subjects, and so on. These dynamics are virtual and 'emergent', yet 'subsist' within the concrete, actual, constellation, and get actualised through the enactments of the two men. The distinction of the virtual and the actual thus helps tackling how an emergent potential of agency emerges from a concrete state of affairs.

This conceptual framework, however, needs to be further elaborated in several respects. Firstly, the question of emergent agentic potential is intimately related here to the question of 'affect', as *geborgenheit* can be said to be precisely about affective relations. Secondly, in my elaborations I have talked about regimes of 'power'. This issue needs further elaboration in relation to the Deleuzian approach. Thirdly, this approach has methodological and ethical implications, as the questions of 'how' and 'what' to affirm are intricate and demand further discussion.

Affect, agency, and subjective-spatial relations

In a Deleuzian understanding, 'affect' is related to the virtual capacity of bodies to affect and be affected by other bodies. This understanding allows a specification of the question of 'difference', as Deleuze formulates it in *Difference and Repetition*, in relation to ongoing, affective, encounters of bodies, which is vital for the present

engagement with how formations of agency emerge in concrete social and spatial context.

The philosophy of Baruch de Spinoza has been vital to Deleuze's (1970/1988) elaborations of affect and the body (see also Brown and Stenner 2001). The understanding of agency that can be derived from Deleuze's reading of Spinoza is framed around two terms: a (virtual) capacity to affect and be affected and an (actual) power of acting. A body's 'power of acting' – what Spinoza (1677/1993) in his *Ethics* calls *vis existendi* or *potentia agendi* – continuously varies in relation to ongoing worldly encounters. There are bodies that 'agree', or 'combine', with other bodies, increasing their respective powers of acting, and other bodies that 'disagree' with others (like a poison), decreasing their powers of acting. The power of acting is essentially 'affective', as Spinoza defines 'affect' (*affectus*)⁷⁶ as "the modifications of the body by which the power of action in the body is increased or diminished, aided or restrained, and at the same time the ideas of these modifications" (part III, def. 3). Affects are the variations of someone's power of acting, the moments where a body passes from one agentic state to another. Since such modifications of the body ensue from encounters with other bodies, 'affect' is the result of bodies 'affecting' one another – in agreeable or disagreeable ways.⁷⁷

Importantly, bodies in Spinoza's understanding differ from one another not primarily due to their specific forms, but due to their specific capacity to 'affect' and 'be affected by' other bodies (Deleuze 1970/1988: 123). This specific capacity (which Spinoza terms '*conatus*') functions as a virtual vector that 'subsists within' bodies and instigates multiple tendencies, some of which can be actualised and re-articulated as bodies encounter and 'combine'

⁷⁶ Note that Andrew Boyle translated '*affectus*' not as 'affect' but as 'emotion'.

⁷⁷ Note that Spinoza's definition includes the statement "and at the same time the ideas of these modifications", which means precisely, as Deleuze (1970/1988) point out, the inseparability of mind and body. Both mind and body form part of *one* 'substance'; they are always necessarily affected *at the same time*.

with others. A body's 'actual' power of acting is thus related to its 'virtual' capacity of affecting and being affected by other bodies. We can use the term 'agency', then, to designate the concrete way in which a body's virtual agentic capacity, or potential, is actualised in affective encounters in terms of a specific power of acting.

Understanding bodies not in terms of their given forms, qualities or identities but in terms of their contingent capacities for affecting and being affected establishes what can be called a non-substantialist understanding of the body. What matters is not so much what a body 'is', but 'what a body can do' as a result of the ongoing affective variations it is subject to (Spinoza 1677/1993: part III, prop 2, note). "A body," Deleuze (1970/1988) thus notes, "can be anything; it can be an animal, a body of sounds, a mind or an idea; it can be a linguistic corpus, a social body, a collectivity." (127) Hence, affective dynamics of agency pertain to all kinds of entities that are involved in the ongoing actualisation and re-shaping of these affective dynamics. 'Anything' can 'affect' and 'be affected by' other 'bodies'. 'Anything' can thus be involved in the formation of actual states of affairs, which are always secondary in relation to the affective dynamics at play. Such a non-substantialist approach allows specifying what bodies come to be as a result of contingent worldly encounters and relations.

As this conception opens the view beyond the agency of certain subjects to affective dynamics that unfold in relation to encounters between all kinds of bodies and entities, it fosters an engagement with what I have called subjective-spatial relations. With respect to the vignette on *geborgenheit* in Lapa, for instance, the atmosphere of the queer place forms a kind of 'body' that in the encounter with the two men and further bodies gives rise to a particular 'affect'. This affect, which I have addressed in terms of 'geborgenheit', enables the men to open up to and joyfully inhabit the space, thus modifying their 'power of acting' – actualising a virtual capacity to affect and be affected in a particular way. Likewise, the boy of Walter

Benjamin's (1938/2006) remembrance in *Berlin Childhood* is situated in an intense affective scenario that emerges from an embodied encounter with the otter, the water, the image of being sung a lullaby by the cradle, and the rain contemplated at home through the window. The otter passage is particularly insightful here, as it indicates how even 'bodies' that are not physically present (like the otter that is re-encountered as the boy watches the rain) or that are very diverse (an animal, water, a lullaby) can be encountered in a given moment, evoking a particular affect and enabling the actualisation of agentic potential. Geborgenheit can thus be conceived of as an 'affect' in Deleuze's sense that emerges from encounters in historical and spatial context and may actualise and re-shape agentic potential. The notion of geborgenheit endows an engagement with emergent formations of agency with a focus on subjective-spatial relations, as it directs attention to dynamics that enable someone to joyfully nest in and open up to a spatiality.

Mobilising the questions of 'affect' and the 'virtual' bears, however, a danger of *opposing* the virtual to the actual, instead of conceiving the two as interrelated. Such a framing, which has become apparent in some versions of so-called 'non-representational theory', may lead to a devaluation of issues like 'language', 'emotion', 'culture' or 'thought'. Both, Clive Barnett (2008) and Steve Pile (2010) thus interrogate the 'layer-cake model' that non-representational theory as engaged by authors such as Anderson (2006), McCormack (2003), or Thrift (2008) introduces by positing a radical split between 'affect' and the 'body' on the one hand and 'idea' and 'consciousness' on the other, which leads to a denigration of the latter and a wish to somehow directly engage with the former. 'Affect' is simply equated here with a primary realm of dynamic flows and relations of force, set in a binary opposition to 'representation', as well as 'emotion', understood as a quasi-ideological, static, superstructure. Barnett (2008) thus laments the "tendency to simply assert the conceptual priority of previously denigrated terms – affect over reason,

practice over representation” (188); and Pile is troubled by the failure to grasp the actual relationship between the affective and the representational. What seems to get lost here, from a Deleuzian perspective, is an understanding of how these two planes of affect and representation are not simply separate and opposed, as the layers of a layer-cake, and how the former *subsists within, shapes and simultaneously exceeds the latter*.

In the present research, it is crucial to avoid ‘layer-cake’ readings of the Deleuzian terms being used, as this would considerably limit the analysis. The potential for agency at stake here cannot be ascribed to a realm of physical materiality that would be opposed to language, for instance. Instead, affective vectors can be seen as potentially running across the whole field of linguistic and bodily enactments, comprising, moreover, governmental politics as much as informal encounters and interactions. Only when a processual understanding is thus being applied to the whole range of events and enactments at stake can a focus on the virtual and the emergent unfold its full analytical power. While so far the focus has been on how agency can be understood as a virtual potential that is actualised in ongoing encounters, I now want to turn to this question of ‘power’ and its relation to agency.

Challenging regimes of power

Agency – understood as a particular power of acting that emerges from ongoing encounters of bodies – opens possibilities for challenging prevalent regimes of power. The question of ‘power’ is addressed here in a double way. On the one hand, there are ‘prevalent regimes of power’ and, on the other, there is an emergent ‘power of acting’ that may challenge the former. The recurrence of the term ‘power’ in both cases is not an unhappy coincidence. ‘Power’ can rather be seen as a key term for

interrogating concrete dynamics between emergent formations of agency and regimes of power, and how they are entwined. An understanding of 'affective' relations between bodies is vital here, as it provides an ontological framework for thinking through these dynamics of power in relation to concrete bodies and spaces. Power itself can be seen as 'affective', as I will now elaborate. For this elaboration, I will return to Deleuze's (1986/2006) and Deleuze and Guattari's (1980/2004) readings of Foucault, which have already been introduced in Chapter 2. In particular, an understanding of power as affective allows transcending frameworks that conceive of 'power' and 'agency' as opposed categories.

The relation between a body's virtual capacity to affect and be affected and its actual power of acting, as elaborated above, has already set up a conceptual framework for understanding power relations more broadly. In *A Thousand Plateaus*, Deleuze and Guattari (1980/2004) conceive of 'diagrams' as technologies that intervene into bodies' virtual capacities of affecting and being affected, shaping their actual power of acting. In his book *Foucault*, Deleuze (1986/2006) elaborates on this issue, putting particular emphasis on the question of 'affect':

We can therefore define the diagram in several different, interlocking ways: it is the presentation of the relations between forces unique to a particular formation; it is the distribution of the power to affect and the power to be affected; it is the mixing of non-formalized pure functions and unformed pure matter. (72-3)

Deleuze suggests here articulating the Foucauldian analysis of power with the Spinozian focus on affect, precisely by conceiving of power as 'distributing the power to affect and the power to be affected' – which means shaping bodies' virtual capacities of affecting and being affected in certain ways. The terms 'pure functions' and 'pure matter' are meant to tackle the *virtual* efficiency of the diagram, which is 'real' and involves both 'functions' and 'matter', yet is simultaneously 'non-formalised' and 'unformed'. An affective diagram can thus

be seen as a virtual set of relations of forces that subsist within, and powerfully shape, the actual. Agency, understood as the relation between such virtual capacities of affecting and being affected and how these capacities are actualised in concrete context, can thus be seen as situated within 'diagrams' that shape these virtual capacities.

Importantly, however, Deleuze adds a subtlety by arguing that for Foucault a diagram designates "the fixed form of a set of relations between forces" (Deleuze 1986/2006: 89). This fixed set of relations between forces, however, "never exhausts force, which can enter into other relations and compositions" (ibid.). Deleuze is thus eager not to reduce power to "fixed" ensembles of forces, but, instead, to keep in view its positively excessive nature and capacity to produce multiple effects and "enter into other relations and compositions". There are, then, virtual diagrams that fix relations of forces, with these forces, however, not being exhausted by the diagrams.

This conception gives rise to a nuanced understanding of agency and its relation to power. The formation of a body's concrete power of acting in a given moment may be shaped both by relatively fixed diagrams of forces and by articulations of excessive dynamics where forces enter into new relations, thus challenging these diagrams. An analysis of emergent formations of agency thus entails a consideration of both diagrams of power and excessive affective dynamics. In Benjamin's otter passage, it could for instance be discussed how diagrams of bourgeois power relations – pertaining for instance to the individualism expressed by the boy's enactments – are simultaneously challenged by affective dynamics of becoming that exceed such diagrams. Geborgenheit emerges here from the complex articulation of relatively fixed diagrams and other kinds of relations. These 'other' relations pertain to the fact that bodies have capacities to affect and be affected that exceed particular diagrams of power. Moments of actualisation, where virtual capacities are

expressed in terms of a concrete 'power of acting', thus introduce the possibility of unforeseen articulations, where both diagrams and excessive affective dynamics are at play. Formations of agency can be seen as emerging precisely from such intricate constellations of power.

Such an understanding can also be put to work in relation to sites where the relevance of *geborgenheit* is not immediately obvious, as with respect to the post/colonial diagrams discussed in Chapter 2. Of particular relevance in the discussion that follows is furthermore the formation of 'governmental activism'. This formation can be conceived of as a 'diagram' in the Foucauldian sense that enables and simultaneously powerfully shapes activist enactments – without, however, fully determining them. This is precisely the analytic perspective that will be elaborated in the following two chapters. I now want to comment on the particular ethical and methodological possibilities as well as the challenges introduced by an affirmative approach to agency with respect to the present project.

Becoming worldly

A Spinozian/Deleuzian approach calls for the affirmation of 'positive' affect since potential for ethical world-making is associated with encounters and dynamics that foster an 'increase' in the power of acting – even if it is not possible in turn to posit any encounter that enables positive affect as 'ethical' *per se*. Ethical action is thus framed in terms of a project of intensifying and pluralising positive affect; and, conversely, positive affect is a vital means for the ethical orientation of action. This issue brings out the significance of 'affirmation' most strongly and directly. My emphasis on *geborgenheit* as enabling an engagement with *positive* subjective-spatial relations shares this

ethical vision of pluralising and intensifying positive affect. Let me note here that – in a similar way as ‘critique’ may be an aspect of an affirmative approach – negative affects, like fear or anger, are also of relevance here, yet the question is how an engagement with negative affect can itself contribute to an intensification of positive affect.⁷⁸

With respect to social research, the question arises of how such ‘affirmation’ can be enacted in practice. Practical affirmation seems to demand here quite centrally an engagement that goes beyond philosophical arguments and that concrete problems as they unfold in spatial and historical context are being considered not as mere ‘examples’ or ‘illustrations’ of an abstract argument. As noted in Chapter 1, this entails for researchers, as Donna Haraway (2008) puts it, “to become worldly and to respond” (41). This has two concrete implications in the present context that I want to highlight. Firstly, the question of ‘agency’ needs to be further specified in relation to issues around norms of gender and sexuality. Secondly it entails a re-consideration of the very ways in which concepts are being used, which relates to my use of ‘geborgenheit’. Let me explicate these two issues.

Refracting agency through ‘enactments of sameness and difference’

The significance of issues around ‘normality’ and ‘difference’ in relation to my engagement with queer people and LGBT politics in Brazil entails a refraction of agency through these kinds of issues. I address these issues in terms of

⁷⁸ In US American debates in the field of queer theory, the significance of engaging with negative affect rather than uncritically celebrating apparently positive articulations of ‘pride’ and ‘happiness’ has been emphasised. Heather Love (2007), for instance, provides an elaborate argument for extending the perspective beyond positive feelings and affects that seem to have immediate political purchase. For a similar argument with respect to cultural studies see Walkerdine (1997). A Spinozian/Deleuzian emphasis on positive affect ought, however, not to be confused with one-dimensional celebrations of positive affect.

‘enactments of sameness and difference’. Such enactments can in other words be seen as mediating the formation of agency. What is important about the notion of ‘enactment’ is that enactments do not need to be conceived as performances, practices or acts *of* subjects, although they *involve* subjects. Following on from the discussion around formations of agency, such enactments can rather be understood as ‘events’ that emerge from the actualisation of affective dynamics. The notions of ‘sameness’ and ‘difference’ put a focus on relations between the ‘normal’ or the ‘same’ on the one hand and the ‘abnormal’ or ‘different’ on the other, and on how certain privileges are attributed to the former while the latter is subjected to particular forms of control or exclusion. I understand these notions of ‘sameness’ and ‘difference’ in the context of social formations of power, which in this research relate in particular to the post/colonial diagrams manifesting in the spatial context of Rio de Janeiro as discussed in Chapter 2. I want to briefly re-consider the relevance of the issues of ‘normality’ or ‘sameness’ and ‘difference’ in relation to the present project and then elaborate on the notion of ‘enactment’ and how it will be used in particular in Part IV of the thesis.

Debating sameness and difference

Various debates, in particular in feminism, cultural studies and queer and postcolonial writings, have addressed powerful dynamics of how relations of normality and difference are established. In the present context, three issues that debates around normality and difference have addressed are of particular relevance: firstly, the significance of binary and hierarchical gender relations with respect to formations of power and agency; secondly, the ways in which gender relations are entwined with formations of sexual identities and

practices, including binaries of homo- vs. heterosexuality as well as the coding of practices as 'normal', 'deviant', 'healthy', 'perverse', etc.; and, thirdly, the wider social formations of power in which gender and sexual relations are situated and that relate in particular to racist regimes of differentiation.

Second-wave feminists have addressed in particular the 'patriarchal', 'sexist' and 'misogynist' order of societies that materially and symbolically situate women in an inferior, de-privileged or even abject position of difference where they are exposed to various forms of violence. The category of 'woman' on which this line of argument hinges has been challenged in terms of its historical contingency and its heterosexual and racialised framing ensuing from an implicit focus on white heterosexual women (Butler 1990; hooks 1992). Nonetheless, this concern with gendered hierarchies and differentiations continues to be of great relevance, as it calls attention to the role uneven gender relations play in formations of power and to the concrete effects this can have for both men and women. Queer people are entangled in such power relations in specific ways, for instance when gay men are associated with the position of 'woman', or when lesbian women are considered as rejecting their 'proper' social role as 'women'. Chapter 2 has addressed some of these issues in relation to formations of *machismo* and the Brazilian categories of '*bicha*' and '*fresco*' that assign to effeminate men the symbolic status of 'woman'.

Lesbian, gay and queer writers have in part engaged with this line of argument, calling attention to sexual norms that intersect with hegemonic gender relations. Monique Wittig's (1992) has talked about a 'heterosexual contract' and Adrienne Rich's (1986) coined the term 'compulsory heterosexuality'.⁷⁹ Focusing more explicitly on sexual practices, Gayle Rubin (1975/2006) has used the notion of the 'sex hierarchy' to tackle how Western cultures legitimise some (e.g. heterosexual or 'vanilla') but ostracise other (e.g.

⁷⁹ For differences between Wittig and Rich see Butler (1990).

homosexual or S/M) forms of sex, and how this is constitutive of binary gender relations. Her argument has also been important in shifting the concern with how various forms of sex serve to oppress women, which was prevalent in second wave feminism, to a more 'sex positive' engagement, directing critical attention to forms of controlling and normalising sex. Chapter 2 has addressed this issue in particular in relation to 'biopolitical' regimes of control. In a similar vein, Michael Warner (1999) talks about 'heteronormativity', a notion that addresses the wide-ranging social and cultural ramifications of norms around heterosexual practices. Judith Butler's (1990) *Gender Trouble* has also been of importance regarding the question of how formations of gender and sexuality intersect. Drawing on Rubin (1975/2006) among others, Butler denounces what she sees as a 'heterosexual matrix' that posits desire as necessarily heterosexual and thus constitutes norms around coherent 'male' and 'female' gender performances. Michel Foucault's (1976/1998) *History of Sexuality Vol. 1* has provided inspiration for Butler and other queer scholars, in particular as it has directed attention to social practices and technologies that produce certain intelligibilities and 'truths' around sexuality.

If gender and sexuality are two interrelated social formations involved in the constitution of norms and differences, these need to be understood in the context of colonialist, capitalist and racist power dynamics, as in particular postcolonial scholars and Third World and Black Feminists have pointed out.⁸⁰ Black Feminists, for instance, have critiqued assumptions in (White) feminism that 'patriarchal' power relations are quasi-universal systems of oppression, pointing out that in black communities the domestic sphere – deemed as a stronghold of patriarchal power by some feminists – has formed an important

⁸⁰ Prominent texts and collections in these strands include Moraga and Anzaldúa (1981), Anzaldúa (1987), Mohanty et al. (1991), hooks (1992), Ashcroft et al. (1995), Yuval-Davis (1997), Spivak (1999), Castle (2001) and Fanon (1952/2008).

basis in black women's struggles against racism (hooks 1992).⁸¹ These debates have already resounded in the argument around post/colonial formations of power developed in Chapter 2, where the significance of considering issues of difference and power in relation to concrete regimes of colonialism and racism was highlighted. It was pointed out that poor and black people face additional forms of violence, and that richer and whiter people have specific possibilities of positively inhabiting queerness, for instance by participating in economically sustained lifestyle, sexual as well as activist cultures (which gay men are more often capable of than *travestis* or lesbians) (Parker 1999). On the other hand, where families and local communities respect and appreciate queerness, queer people from lower classes may receive more local support and feel in some ways more geborgen than richer people living more individualised lives. Moreover, as has also been mentioned, gay and queer communities have opened up economic and cultural possibilities for people from diverse social backgrounds.

The necessity of considering how hierarchies and differentiations unfold in concrete context forms the backdrop to my emphasis on the question of 'enactments of sameness and difference'. This question concerns precisely the ways in which positions of both 'sameness' and 'difference', rather than being given in the abstract, are actualised in spatial and historical context, which in turn relates to the issue of emergent formations of agency.

⁸¹ See also Yuval-Davis (1997: 7-8) for a critique of the notion of 'patriarchy', which, she argues along with other feminists, reduces women's oppression to a generalised and essentialised scheme of male domination.

What are 'enactments of sameness and difference'?

My focus in engaging with enactments of sameness and difference is on affective dynamics, which I address through the question of subjective-spatial relations. Affective dynamics unfolding in concrete spatial contexts enable and shape particular enactments of sameness and difference, which in turn unfold contingent effects. Such enactments can – like formations of agency – be understood as emerging from the actualisation of affective capacities that subsist within spaces, bodies, and their relations. The assault reported in the Snapshot, for instance, can be seen as an 'enactment of difference' – as a position of difference attributed to the kissing men getting (violently) actualised. Likewise, the defiant return to kissing by the two men after the assault constitutes an enactment of difference, even if a quite different one: now this position of difference is positively asserted. Both enactments can be seen as unfolding in the context of intense affective dynamics. In the latter case, the particular atmosphere of Cabaret Casanova and the wider spatial context of Rio de Janeiro's Lapa district play an important role, as pointed out earlier. But also in the former case, intensities that are related to this atmosphere, such as the late hour and a sense of unrestrained activities, might be involved in fostering the assault. Moreover, wider-ranging diagrams of power come into play here that are constitutive of the norms that attribute a position of difference or norm-transgression to the two kissing men.

The notion of 'enactments of sameness and difference' thus fosters a particular way of engaging with formations of agency that take shape in the context of powerful norms around sexuality and gender – which are in turn implicated in further relations of power. This can be usefully articulated with the understanding of 'diagrams' discussed earlier, by highlighting that articulations of both the 'same' and the 'different' are not simply given but

rather actualise in contingent ways as they get enacted. The homophobic attack in the Snapshot is expressive of power relations where the kissing of two men in public is associated with a transgression of norms. In the event of the assault itself, these power relations are actualised, whereby 'difference' is enacted in particular ways. This example brings out that such enactments of difference can be violently restricting and limit rather than expand agentic potential. Yet, the 'defiant' act of kissing following the attack forms a further, different kind of enactment of difference, actualising and re-shaping agentic potential in novel ways.

The notion of 'enactments of difference', then, directs attention to the contingent ways in which agentic potential actualises in the context of powerful dynamics or diagrams that establish norms and hierarchies. Such enactments actualise affective dynamics and thereby re-shape agentic potential. While positions of subordination or exclusion can be solidified by such enactments, they also bear a potential for excessive affective dynamics to emerge that can be practically and ethically affirmed. I complement this focus on 'difference' moreover with a focus on 'sameness', as in many cases the actualisation of agentic potential ensues from inhabiting positions of the 'same' rather than the 'different'. In fact, the very act of kissing in the mentioned example, cannot only be considered in relation to 'difference', its transgression of norms, but also in relation to its 'sameness', namely insofar as two men or women kissing one another in that particular space has already acquired a degree of normality. The point I want to make here is that both enactments of 'sameness' and 'difference' need to be considered in relation to the concrete ways in which virtual agentic potential is actualised. Both enactments of sameness and of difference necessarily take place in the context of relations of power, which shape, yet do not fully determine these enactments – neither on the level of the virtual relations of forces at play, nor on the level of concrete actualisations.

The notion of 'enactment' has a further important implication. Enactments of sameness and difference are not practices, performances or acts 'of' subjects. The focus on how affective dynamics actualise in enactments directs attention to a multiplicity of processes and intensities that I address in particular through the notion of subjective-spatial relations, and, more specifically, the notions of *geborgenheit* and *aconchego*. These processes and intensities pertain to diagrams of power, spatial atmospheres, subjective moments of being affected, and so on. Enactments of sameness and difference actualise and conjoin such heterogeneous dynamics and intensities, thereby evoking effects of the 'same' and the 'different' – a kiss evoking a threatening or pleasurable sense of 'difference', or fostering a sense of 'sameness'. Rather than being 'subjective' processes, such enactments are actualisations immanent to a particular moment or constellation in time and space – a constellation that can involve subjects and acts, but that can involve further objects, intensities, relations and processes. Enactments might best be described as 'events' that emerge in a given context and unfold particular effects. Chapter 8 will come back to this issue in relation to concrete enactments of sameness and difference.

It seems vital to point out this specificity of the present understanding of 'enactments', as in some debates that are concerned with the question of 'difference', 'difference' has been framed in terms of a subjectivity that exceeds, or troubles, the subjectivity of the 'same' – which also relates to the focus on a 'self' / 'other' dialectic that has been interrogated earlier. Such a focus on 'subjectivity' is common in many feminist and queer debates that take a 'female', 'lesbian', 'trans', 'black', 'gay', 'queer', etc., subject as the centre of interrogation.⁸² Enactments of sameness and difference cannot be reduced to

⁸² Judith Butler (1990), for instance, in *Gender Trouble* discusses possibilities of going beyond 'women' as the subject of feminism – even to transgress the logic that assumes a preceding

acts, practices or performances of (collective or individual) subjectivities occupying a position of difference – even if subjectivities inhabiting or being attributed positions of both difference and sameness come into play in many cases. While my intention is not to erase issues of ‘subjects’ or ‘subjectivity’, which like the question of ‘agency’ are of great political relevance, there is thus a subtle, yet significant difference between talking about ‘subjects enacting sameness and difference’ or ‘enactments of sameness and difference that involve subjects’. It is the latter formulation favoured here. In order to bring out the concept’s specificity more clearly, let me briefly comment on how ‘enactment’ resonates with and differs from related concepts used by other authors.

Resonances with and differences from other concepts

My use of ‘enactment’ bears similarities with what Deleuze and Guattari (e.g. 1980/2004) call ‘*agencement*’, and which has been translated as ‘assemblage’. John Phillips (2006) points out that the French term is more instructive than the English one as it designates “both the act of fixing and the arrangement itself” (108). *Agencement* indicates simultaneously a transformative process and an arrangement – it posits arrangements as enacted. *Agencements* ‘fit’ or ‘affix’ heterogeneous parts together in processual and contingent ways such that they

‘subject’ that would animate politics. While Butler is thus unhappy with the staging of a preceding subject, she does not move beyond a critical genealogy of the subject that keeps circulating around this same epistemological figure, limiting ‘destabilisation’ to issues of subversion. For a critique of the focus on ‘subjectivity’ in cultural studies see also Papadopoulos (2003). Regarding the focus on ‘self’ / ‘other’ dialectics I am moreover thinking in particular of psychoanalytically inspired approaches that focus on relations of ‘identification’ and ‘disidentification’. José Muñoz’ (1999) *Disidentifications* is noteworthy in this context, as it actually goes some-way toward complicating binaries. Muñoz is concerned with a “mode of dealing with dominant ideology [...] that neither opts to assimilate within such a structure nor strictly opposes it; rather disidentification is a strategy that works on and against dominant ideology” (11). However, this formulation is itself based upon an essentialised opposition between “dominant ideology” and a minoritarian culture.

gain some kind of consistency (see also Law 2004: 41). I am using 'enactment' in a similar way to highlight simultaneously what gets enacted and the contingent processes through which it is constituted.

A further notion that resonates with 'enactment' is Isin's (2008) notion of the 'act' in his project of rethinking citizenship. Isin suggests focusing on 'acts' that introduce ruptures and create new scenes. With this focus, he aims to move away from what he sees as an overwhelming concern with order and repetitive practice in the social sciences. He notes: "I would suggest that the essence of an act as distinct from conduct, practice, behaviour and habit, is that an act is a rupture in the given" (25). Isin's desire to move beyond an engagement with established practices resonates with – and in fact has inspired – my present engagement with 'enactments', as it brings out the significance of considering agency and citizenship from a processual angle, rather than limiting the view to established identities and 'practices'. However, a clear-cut analytic distinction between 'acts' and 'practices' might suggest that the repetition of practices necessarily means stasis, a notion that is challenged by Deleuze's (1968/1994) argument that any repetition or actualisation necessarily introduces some difference (in Deleuze's sense of 'difference in itself' as explicated earlier). The notion of 'enactment' might be useful in troubling a clear-cut distinction between 'practices' as orderly repetitive routine behaviour on the one hand and 'acts' as scene-setting ruptures on the other, even if there can be differences in degree.⁸³ 'Enactment' can thus serve to direct attention to the contingent ways in which agentic potential gets shaped through repetitive

⁸³ In his discussion of differences between the notions of 'act' and *agencement* Guattari's (in Guattari and Rolnik 2008) highlights a related danger involved in focusing on 'acts' as opposed to *agencements*, although this seems only partly related to Isin's notion: "[...] I'm very mistrustful of the notion of an act, because it introduces a cut between a field of the act and a field of non-act, an undifferentiated field, which an act comes and animates, overcodes, organizes, and orders." (Guattari and Rolnik 2008: 335) The notion of the 'act' Guattari refers to – which is a Lacanian notion – posits 'acts' as 'ordering' an 'undifferentiated' field. This is, however, a different understanding of the 'act' as the one proposed by Isin, who conceives of 'acts' as inserting a rupture into a given order, rather than as ordering an undifferentiated field. On the way in which Guattari sees *agencement* to go beyond 'act' see *ibid.*: 335-6.

as well as disruptive events. Moreover, it can decentre the focus on 'subjects' that a notion of 'acts' might entail.

Further notions that resonate with 'enactment' are Judith Butler's (1990) 'performativity' and Anthony Giddens' (1984) 'structuration', both of which highlight the processual constitution of formations of agency. I will, however, leave a discussion of these concepts aside. Suffice it to mention that the present notion of 'enactment' introduces a difference in relation to 'performativity' as it is not framed in terms of a dialectic between a 'norm' and its 'failure' (as Butler's 'performativity' arguably is), and as it exceeds Butler's focus on 'subjectivity' (see above, note 77).

To summarise, 'enactments of sameness and difference' are eventful actualisations of affective dynamics. They emerge from contingent subjective-spatial relations that involve powerful diagrams as well as excessive affective forces and cannot be reduced to performances or acts of subjects. I understand enactments of 'difference' not simply as oppositions to, ruptures or failures of norms. In emerging from affective intensities, they rather have an inherent 'positivity'. They may, however, entail the intensification of painful positions of difference as well as the emergence of agentic possibilities. Enacting the 'same', on the other hand, is not necessarily reactionary but can itself involve the affirmation of virtual agentic potential. The effects of enactments of both difference and sameness with respect to agency are thus necessarily contingent. The 'affective' aspect is of particular importance here. In the current project, it is addressed in relation to the questions of *geborgenheit* and *aconchego*: Geborgenheit directs attention to a set of affective dynamics that pertain to possibilities of joyfully inhabiting or opening up to spaces, which can be seen as being constitutive of particular enactments of sameness and difference. Let me end this chapter by highlighting briefly the significance of the different *kinds* of concepts used in this research.

A worldly use of concepts: affect – geborgenheit - *aconchego*

In order to enable interventions in concretely situated, worldly, contexts of research, the concepts used themselves need to be fashioned in such a way that they address the particular problems at stake. Deleuze's philosophical concepts like 'affect' or the 'virtual' play an important role here, as they are useful in performing analytic moves relevant to this project. At the same time, however, the concrete cases and sites of research at stake constantly introduce new issues and problems. This relates back to Annemarie Mol's (2008) distinction between 'examples' and 'cases', which indicates that sites of research may not only be used for providing examples for a theoretical argument but can themselves inspire theorisation in surprising and unforeseen ways (see Ch. 1). Importantly, in order to enable a 'worldly' engagement such theorisation needs to stay true to the complexities summoned by these concrete cases.

The focus on unfolding subjective-spatial relations introduced by 'geborgenheit' is meant to articulate the conceptual framework around 'agency' and 'affect' in terms of a decidedly 'worldly' approach that is capable of addressing the concrete problems posed by this research. As proposed in Chapter 1, it functions as a 'transitory device' that fosters a 'transition' to novel kinds of enactments, getting re-articulated – and complemented – in the process of research. Geborgenheit – which as an analytical term is relatively abstract with respect to the concrete subjective-spatial dynamics unfolding in the Brazilian context – can be further articulated with more specifically situated concepts. Chapter 7 thus uses the notion of *aconchego* ('embraced-ness', 'cosiness', 'cuddle'), which has been introduced by my research participants. Chapter 7 shows how Walter Benjamin's engagement with cities inspires a

decidedly worldly mobilisation of the Deleuzian approach to emergent formations of agency in the context of this research, enabling a shift from the philosophical project of 'affirming difference' to the ethicopolitical one of 'making a difference in the world' – as advocated by Donna Haraway in the quote cited in the beginning of this chapter.

PART III EXPLORING PARADOXES

IN LGBT ACTIVISM

*The force of paradoxes is that they are not contradictory;
they rather allow us to be present at the genesis of the contradiction.⁸⁴*

Gilles Deleuze

This part of the thesis takes a closer look at the LGBT politics of public security and the political debates around democratising and modernising the police in which it emerged, as well the particular style of ‘governmental activism’ on which it is founded. If in the late 70s and early 80s lesbian, gay, or trans activists often saw the police as a main enemy and as epitomising the state’s oppressive function, which was conspicuous during the dictatorship years, over the last 10 years, the police came increasingly to be seen as responsible for guaranteeing LGBT people’s safety, and thus as a resource. This focus on a public institution guaranteeing LGBT people’s safety emerged as part of a new politics of ‘citizenship’ that used advocacy and partnerships and posited the state increasingly as a resource to be appropriated. Chapter 5 discusses this shift towards ‘LGBT citizenship’ and the governmental logic on which it is premised. It highlights some powerful effects of normalisation and subjectivation that have accompanied this shift, as political articulations have become more strongly aligned with prevalent formations of interests, and as queer people now tend to be imagined as a vulnerable population whose

⁸⁴ Deleuze 1969/2004: 86.

agency is related to the claiming of public services. At the same time, the ways in which the turn towards a governmental engagement has paradoxically also opened up new agentic possibilities are pointed out, as the LGBT movement has gained political leverage on different levels and become able to partake in the transformation of public security. In particular, a positive approach to public security has not only enabled new forms of countering violence and providing victim support, it has also opened up ways of challenging the masculinist, militarised and in many ways trans- and homophobic police apparatus itself. As Chapter 6 shows, this is precisely the potential some leftist intellectuals and politicians saw in LGBT public security politics. They have thus been eager to forge linkages between LGBT activism and wider efforts to reform or transform public security. Chapter 6, however, also continues the consideration of the paradoxes that have been involved in political engagements with public security more broadly, and with LGBT public security activism more specifically.

Throughout this discussion, the question of ‘paradoxicality’ is vital. In this focus on paradoxes, I follow a similar line of argument as writers like the German queer-feminist Antke Engel (2009), who points out that paradoxes announce divergent or incompatible elements that “nonetheless stay unavoidably linked with one another” (118). This, Engel argues, distinguishes paradoxes from ‘contradictions’, which “cannot exist simultaneously, but occupy clearly separate positionings”, demanding either/or decisions (ibid.). Engel calls attention to the vital insights that can be gained from engaging paradoxical simultaneity rather than limiting the view to binaries of ‘either/or’.⁸⁵ Engaging paradoxes entails an attentiveness to the contingent

⁸⁵ Focusing on sexual and queer politics in the context of neoliberalism in Western Europe, Engel (2009) is in particular interested in the potential of paradoxes for “liberating the political from identitarian and normative constrictions” (126). The focus on paradoxical simultaneity for Engel resonates with a queer politics that aims to move beyond binaries like ‘male’ and

effects emerging from such dynamic simultaneity. This also relates to the earlier discussion of emergent formations of agency. From a Deleuzian perspective, paradoxes can be understood as expressions of the excessive 'virtual' and 'affective' dynamics that constitute an 'actual' state of affairs. These dynamics are precisely not organised in uniform and binary ways. Instead, they constitute a potential for 'becoming' that cannot easily be determined in advance but unfolds contingent effects.⁸⁶ Paradoxes thus call attention precisely to these dynamics of becoming (for a fuller discussion see Dutta 2010).

The following chapters consider the paradoxical ways in which the very dynamics that summon forms of normalisation in LGBT activism also give rise to new agentic potential. A focus on paradoxes helps in going beyond 'either/or' binaries, which seem to have informed a number of academic writings that address shifts in activist engagements. Such a focus calls attention to how new agentic potential emerges that is powerfully shaped, yet simultaneously characterised by virtual dynamics that can articulate in contingent and unforeseen ways.

'female' as well as 'power' and 'resistance' so as to engage with the possibilities emerging from within powerful processes. Engel also points out that such a positive (or 'affirmative') approach differs from the hitherto dominant ways in which the question of 'paradox' has been used in social science. She points out that paradoxes have in many cases been conceived merely as a problem ensuing from contemporary societal transformations that needs to be warded off (see Engel 2009: 122-5).

⁸⁶ Deleuze has theorised 'paradox' in precisely this way, as the above quote from *The Logic of Sense* indicates. We can understand "the contradiction" in this statement as referring to a given state of affairs that has resulted from an actualisation of virtual dynamics. 'Paradoxes', on the other hand, are expressions of the efficacy of these virtual dynamics themselves, which are simultaneously excessive with respect to contradictions and generative of them.

5. GOVERNMENTAL ACTIVISM

...bodies become identities, people become demos, desires become demands.

Dimitris Papadopoulos, Niamh Stephenson & Vassilis Tsianos.⁸⁷

Several authors have addressed shifts in social movements and politics and issues around normalisation associated with such shifts. Nancy Fraser (1995) has famously talked about a shift from 'distribution' to 'recognition', whereby she means a shift away from a political project of social justice and equality to one that is more narrowly focused on different identities that strive for having their claims recognised by the polity. Taking a slightly different angle, Iris Marion Young (2000) notes a shift from a politics of 'difference', where heterogeneous actors enter into political processes of debate, to one of 'assimilation', where marginalised social groups strive for mere inclusion into the dominant social order. Authors discussing lesbian and gay politics in North Atlantic contexts have made similar arguments. Dianne Richardson (2005) focuses on 'neoliberal politics' and talks about a shift from 'liberation' to 'equality'; Michael Warner (1999) notes a shift from 'sexual autonomy' to 'sexual shame'; Lee Edelman (2004) frames the shift in terms of 'radical queerness' versus 'reproductive futurism'; and Shane Phelan (2001) talks about 'thoroughgoing feminist commitments' that have given way to 'liberal politics of inclusion'. What these writings have in common is a concern with the tendency of political movements to let go of struggles for a profoundly

⁸⁷ Papadopoulos et al. 2008: 79.

different ordering of sexual, gender and wider social relations, and instead merely strive for an inclusion into hegemonic institutions and social relations.

These writings capture part of my present concern with LGBT politics of public security. However, frequently such a shift is narrated as one of loss. Contemporary engagements are said to lack the radicalness of earlier struggles, and to succumb to the lures of market liberalism, capitalist individualism, nationalism and hegemonic hetero-/homonormativity. The novelty in political engagements is then conceived only in negative terms such as 'assimilation'. In the present case, I want to go beyond such a narrative of loss by considering some of the concrete dynamics that have shifted and emerged, and that thus have summoned a number of effects that are paradoxical rather than uniformly assimilationist or normalising. For this purpose, I consider it necessary, first of all, to gain a better sense of how formations of knowledge and practice have changed. It seems to me that the emergence of a biopolitical logic – which itself unfolds in contingent and often paradoxical ways – has so far not received enough attention in this context. A Foucauldian analysis seems useful in bringing out how a new formation of knowledge and practices has taken shape that summons effects of normalisation, yet paradoxically also opens up new possibilities.

The chapter starts by outlining the mentioned political shift that has occurred in Brazilian LGBT activism, highlighting the current focus on 'LGBT citizenship' that has emerged over the past decades as well as the shifting relations between activists and queer people. It then makes use of Foucault's work on 'governmentality' to highlight dynamics of normalisation and the production of knowledge that seem vital for understanding this political shift, as part of which the LGBT politics of public security have emerged. The chapter ends by pointing out a series of paradoxes that this shift has given rise to.

The emergence of a politics of 'citizenship'

As in the case of many other LGBT movements in different parts of the world, a great deal of current Brazilian activist practices is tailored towards gaining equal rights of citizenship for LGBT people, in the sense of laws and public policies guaranteeing access to institutions (like health care, marriage or securitisation) and the elimination of discrimination. Such a focus on 'LGBT citizenship' has tended to displace the focus on the denunciation of violence on the one hand and consciousness-raising on the other, which was characteristic of what has been called the gay or LGBT movement's 'first wave' of the late 1970 and early 80s.⁸⁸ A comparison between some of the slogans used in first wave and contemporary activism indicates this different focus. In a march against police violence in June of 1980 in São Paulo,⁸⁹ slogans resounded like '*Amor, paixão, abaixo o camburão!*' ('Love, passion, down with the police van!') – this is a variation of the anti-dictatorship slogan '*Arroz, feijão, abaixo a repressão!*' ('Rice, beans, down with repression!'); '*Au, au, au, nós queremos muito pau!*' ('Ick, ick, ick, we want a lot of dick!'); and '*O guei unido jamais será vencido!*' ('United gays will never be defeated!') (MacRae 1990: 227). All of these slogans are voiced from a position outside the established polity and the state with its police violence and hostility to queer people and same-sex desires.⁹⁰

⁸⁸ In the late 1970s, what is now called the Brazilian LGBT movement used to be called '*movimento homossexual brasileiro*', or 'MHB'. From the early 90s onwards, the generic term '*homossexuais*' used in '*movimento homossexual brasileiro*' got progressively substituted by acronyms, most recently, '*movimento LGBT – movimento de lésbicas, gays, bissexuais, travestis e transexuais*' (see Facchini 2005).

⁸⁹ The march formed part of a campaign against violent police interventions against *travestis*, sex workers, lesbians, gays and other marginalised groups in São Paulo's city centre, which were initiated by a police officer called José Richetti (see MacRae 1990: 222-8; Trevisan, 1996: 149).

⁹⁰ The wider context of this march were the leftist and anti-dictatorship struggles of the time, which were also engaged by the students', women's and black movements (Facchini 2005).

This state-critical stance is coupled with a dissident affirmation of 'love' and 'passion' that does not aim to accommodate this claim within established societal and political discourses (as expressed in ironically exaggerated manner in '*Au, au, au, nós queremos muito pau!*'). '*O guei unido jamais será vencido!*' moreover posits gays as brothers and presumably sisters in arms struggling against a common opponent. This also relates to the focus on consciousness-raising among gay men and lesbian women, which formed a central part of early activist meetings (MacRae 1990). Slogans now pervading public articulations are somewhat different, for instance: '*Nem menos, nem mais, direitos iguais!*' ('Neither more nor less, equal rights!'), '*É legal ser homossexual*' ['it's legal/nice to be gay']" (58) and '*Cidadania já!*' ('Citizenship now!').⁹¹ Such slogans could be heard, for instance, at the 1st National Seminar on Public Security and the Combat of Homophobia mentioned in the Preface, where LGBT activists sat on panels together with military police commanders, researchers and government representatives to discuss public policies addressing the demands of LGBT people.

The political shift expressed by the difference in slogans – and this is what I want to highlight here – is characterised by a transformation of the position from which activism is articulated. While during the gay movement's 'first wave' activists assumed a position of protesters from the margins denouncing violence and raising consciousness, from the 80s onwards, activism was increasingly articulated from within the polity, aiming to form alliances with state and other actors and partaking in the development of concrete policies. Already in the 1980s, activists started focusing on concrete policy campaigns, e.g. around the de-pathologisation of 'homosexuality', which went hand-in-hand with the aim of creating stable spaces for activism and articulating LGBT activism internationally (Facchini 2005: 102-19). HIV/AIDS

⁹¹ Facchini (2005: 58) also comments on the shift in activism as expressed by such slogans.

activism played a constitutive role in this new formation of LGBT activism. (Parker 1999: 91-4; Simões and Facchini 2009: 117-35). Not only did it foster the formation of several new NGOs as well as co-operations with national and international funding bodies; it also had, as Simões and Facchini (2009) put it, “a tremendous effect [...] in the transfiguration of homosexuality and the increase of its multifaceted visibility” (135). According to the authors, a new, and more open, debate of sexual practices ensued, which helped taking homosexuality out of the realm of the clandestine. With the increasing institutionalisation of activism according to an NGO model⁹² in the 1980s and especially the 90s, a politics of advocacy for ‘LGBT citizenship’ emerged. This is announced by the recent change of name of Rio’s biggest LGBT organisation, from ‘*Grupo Arco-Íris de Conscientização Homossexual*’ (Rainbow Group for Homosexual Conscientisation) to ‘*Grupo Arco-Íris de Cidadania LGBT*’ (Rainbow Group for LGBT Citizenship).

Toni Reis, president of the Brazilian LGBT Association (ABGLT), pinpoints this shift in one of my interviews as he compares past and present LGBT politics: “I remember that in the first meetings we were specialists in writing letters of repudiation, which was a really complicated situation, a difficult situation. Well, these were letters of protest addressed to politicians. Everything was protest...” (Interview, 11 Dec. 2007) The meetings Toni refers to are the National Meetings of Gays, which between 1989 and 1993 took place annually (and which are now called National Meetings of Lesbians, Gays, Bisexuals, *Travestis* and Transsexuals). The current engagement, by contrast, is characterised by a more collaborative form of politics. Toni summarises:

[... T]oday, we have the concept of ‘*advocacy*’ [English word in original], the concept that we have to propose public policies, that we have to

⁹² As Facchini (2005: 183) argues, an NGO form of organisation involves in particular a professionalisation of activists, a stronger orientation towards various partners and funding bodies and new kinds of relations with the media, state authorities, or the specialised market.

monitor, participate, criticise... right. So the concept of the movement changed. We don't work with the politics of confrontation. This is not our practice, and we have realised that we have constantly increased the number of partners. (Ibid.)

Following this new "concept of the movement" – an advocacy model – political interventions now tended to be articulated not from a position of outsiders of the polity denouncing the state, but from within the polity and in collaboration with different state actors. Activists increasingly participated in governmental working groups elaborating policies, in state and national LGBT conferences hosted by the government and in regional LGBT councils. For instance, Cláudio Nascimento, the former coordinator of Rio's Grupo Arco-Íris, currently occupies the position of a Superintendent for Individual, Collective and Diffuse Rights at Rio's State Office for Social Welfare and Human Rights.

-- The context for this development has been provided by a changing understanding of 'homosexuality' as announced by the removal of 'homosexuality' as a disease from the WHO's International Classification of Diseases (ICD) in 1990. 'Homosexual orientation' – and later also transsexuality and transgender identities –, came increasingly to be seen as irreducible identity aspects that demand particular management and care, rather than as sicknesses or moral evils to be overcome – although pathologising and moralistic discourses persist. Moreover, from the 1990s onwards, LGBT human rights discourses proliferated on an international scale (Kollman and Waites 2009). These developments also went along with new cultural practices and expressions and a proliferating male gay economy (Parker 1999: 77-87; Nunan 2003; see also Ch. 2).

Furthermore, the focus on 'LGBT citizenship' needs to be understood in the context of a proliferation of citizenship discourses in the 1980s and 90s.

In the 80s, the issues of 'citizenship' (*cidadania*) and 'democratisation' (*democratização*) were pervasive, as various social movements struggled for equal rights and the country was headed towards establishing the progressive Constitution of 1988 (Dagnino 2009; Parker 1999: 113). In the 1990s, the question of 'citizenship' was further invoked in the process of neoliberalisation under the governments of Fernando Collor de Mello (1990-92) and especially Fernando Henrique Cardoso (1995-2002). As Evelina Dagnino (1999) argues, from the 1990s onwards, social movements became increasingly responsabilised for carrying out services formerly considered duties of the state, which went hand in hand with the promotion and privileging of professionalised NGO forms of organisation. State actors now mobilised the notion of 'citizenship' in order to promote individual and civil society engagement in particular in the health sector (see for instance Biehl 2004), but also in further areas, such as security. Social movements in turn gained a new apparently 'protagonistic' role in the enactment of governmental citizenship politics.

The position of activists and activism thus shifted since the 80s – if only in fragmentary ways – from one of marginality towards one located within the emergent liberal-democratic polity. At the same time, the relations between queer people and activists also changed. During the movement's first wave, queer people were imagined as an oppositional collectivity (*'guei unido'*), and activists were in the position of providing the most pronounced articulation of this collectivity. As activists started to gain expert knowledge (for instance around legislation and homophobic violence) and activism was located in more clearly defined spaces (in particular in fixed premises of the organisations) the positions between activists and queer people in general tended to drift apart – even if an 'LGBT' collectivity is still being invoked as political subject. This becomes clear when we compare the collective practice of consciousness-

raising, extensively practiced during the movement's first wave, with campaigning for legal and policy change, as it became increasingly practiced from the 1980s onwards. While consciousness-raising is based on the assumed common experience of 'gays', political campaigning happens around the objectives articulated by those inhabiting the position of activists and having access to certain political discourses and developments. As activists thus gain an increasingly professionalised status of expert advocates, queer people get constituted as those who are in need of the political changes envisioned – a position of 'vulnerable subjects'.

So, a politics of LGBT citizenship has emerged that is based on articulations from within the polity and enables political projects such as the politics of public security. At the same time, this political approach involves a new relationship between activism and queer people. Foucault's work (2008) on governmentality can be used to bring out a particular set of dynamics that emerged with the shift in the positioning of activism. These dynamics set out a particular 'diagram of power' in the sense of relatively fixed relations of forces that shape political enactments, yet do not completely determine them and call forth a number of contingent and paradoxical effects (see Ch. 2 and 4). I suggest understanding the LGBT politics of citizenship that are focused on the formulation and advocacy of 'demands' of the 'LGBT population' as such a powerful, yet mobile and unstable, diagram. Using Foucault, the contemporary activist orientation can be marked as one of 'governmental activism'.

Mobilising 'governmentality'

With 'governmentality' Foucault (2008) addresses the special significance that the problem of 'governing people' acquired from the 16th century onwards, which provoked a transformation of power. Foucault argues that in the 'feudal' times of the Middle Ages power was exercised by a sovereign whose central problem of governance was to secure territorial integrity. Power was exercised primarily through the law that constituted people as subjects of a territory so as to maintain the sovereign's survival. This form of exercising power, which established a particular relation between people, territory and sovereign, Foucault argues, changed during the period of mercantilism. The population now began to be considered not so much as subjects of a territory alone, but as an important condition for the production of wealth. A new governmental problem thus arose, namely the question of how to govern people so as to intensify the production of wealth. During the mercantilist period, however, the production of wealth was still essentially tied to the sovereign's maintenance of power. From the mid 18th century onwards – in the context of economic and demographic growth, technological developments and further changes – the population itself, and its productivity, became the central problem. An optimum development of the population itself came to be seen as the condition of prosperity. This summons a range of new issues that gained governmental significance, ranging from climate, environment, intensity of commerce and tax and marriage laws to habits, moral and religious values or the state of livelihoods. Foucault calls the ensuing management of the population 'biopolitics' – a form of politics concerned with life itself (which has already been mentioned in Chapters 1 and 2).

Foucault's notion of 'governmentality', then, addresses concrete technologies of power through which relations between the 'governing' and

the 'governed' are constituted. 'Biopolitical' technologies, which serve to manage and control populations so as to ensure and maximise their productivity, are of central interest to Foucault. Liberalism, Foucault further argues, emerged as a political style corresponding to and enabling such management of populations and the proliferation of biopolitical technologies. Liberalism – and later and more intensely neoliberalism – aims to exploit processes of self-regulation that came to be seen as fostering the maximisation of the population's productivity and wealth. Such a liberal style of governmentality, Foucault argues, entails a concern with what can be considered 'true' and of 'interest' with respect to the population's demands and the state as a whole. It is precisely these issues of 'truth' and 'interest' that, I think, help in better understanding a diagram of power shaping Brazilian LGBT activism. In the following, I thus want to elaborate on these two issues.

LGBT citizenship as a 'regime of truth'

Foucault (2008: 29-37) demonstrates how – in connection with particular practices and technologies of power – distinctive 'regimes of truth' emerged from the late 18th century onwards that made it possible to establish relations of 'truth' or 'falsity' that could guide governmental action. Different issues relevant to the population – the market, madness, deviance, sexuality, and so on – emerged as discursive fields with their own laws, causalities, distribution and regularities, with a 'truth' to be discovered (see also Rose 1999: 29-31). Along these lines I want to argue that the staging of 'LGBT citizenship' as political objective constitutes a new regime of truth that establishes the 'LGBT population' or 'sexual minorities' as an object of knowledge: as a sub-population that is in need of special governmental care, which entails specific

forms of knowledge as to what these needs are. The dimensions along which 'LGBT citizenship' is articulated pertain to such diverse issues as civil partnerships, health services, securitisation, educational practices or tourist infrastructure.

Significantly, through the new regime of truth queer people are positioned differently as compared to first wave activism. The mentioned position of activist as protesters from the margins was associated with the struggle against – but also the dissident affirmation of – a positioning as 'perverts', which can be seen as a regime of truth more pronounced during that time.⁹³ During the 1980s, the position that had constituted especially male homosexuals and trans people as 'perverts' began to give way to a proliferation of positions of 'sexual minorities' that are seen to be in need of specific governmental care, which gave rise to an 'alphabet soup' (Facchini 2005) of ever more acronyms used to address these minorities like 'GLT', 'LGBT', and recently – although less frequently in Brazil – 'LGBTQ' or 'LGBTIQ' ('I' for 'intersex' and 'Q' for 'queer'). 'LGBT' is the most frequent name given to these minorities as a whole in Brazil. 'LGBT' people emerge, alongside further minority populations like 'African-Brazilians', 'indigenous groups' or the 'disabled', as a specific sub-population of governmental biopolitics with a specific set of problems and regularities pertaining to health, security, social rights, consumption etc.. Differences between different groups summoned by 'LGBT' could be further discussed. Trans people, for instance, are often associated with psychiatric categories, such as 'gender identity disorder' in the current version of the WHO's International Statistical Classification of Diseases and Related Health Problems (ICD-10). 'Homosexuality', by contrast,

⁹³ Foucault's (1976/1998) analyses in his *History of Sexuality* are instructive regarding the regime of truth at work up to the 1980s. What marked homosexuality according to Foucault from the late 18th century onwards in the West was its insertion into an extensive scheme of psychological and psychiatric classifications that 'implanted' it along with various other 'perversions' into the bodies of individuals, thus constituting these individuals as different kinds of 'species'. For a resonating discussion in the Brazilian context see Green (1999).

has been eliminated from official psychiatric classification systems, although 'sexual orientation' now tends to be seen as an irreducible identity component that might cause psychological disorder if not articulated in successful processes of 'coming out'.⁹⁴

The staging of 'LGBT' as a 'minority population' creates precisely the position of queer people as 'vulnerable subjects' mentioned earlier – as subjects that have specific demands for governmental care due to their particular bodily and social condition. This entails the production of a knowledge that concerns not only issues around 'gender identity' or 'sexual orientation' more specifically, but also issues pertaining for instance to the 'security' of this population. The discursive complex of 'victimisation' is of great significance here. It is not simply centred on denouncing manifest forms of violence, but rather involves the production of a knowledge that establishes which particular segments of the LGBT population are vulnerable to what specific kinds of victimisation. This issue will be addressed in the interlude on studies on homophobic violence and in the following chapter.

Importantly, such a governmental regime of truth is not simply being imposed by the state and its institutions. It is quite centrally also activism itself that fosters and co-creates such knowledge, which relates directly to the articulation of 'demands'. For the formulation of demands, activism gathers, re-assembles or contests existing forms of knowledge and fosters or conducts scientific studies. In this process, activists are not simply being duped into forms of control. On the contrary, they may well be aware that they are contributing to the establishment of a new regime of truth. A recent example of this awareness is provided by the Master's dissertation of Diego Cotta – an active participant in Rio's LGBT movement – on the '*Campanha Não*

⁹⁴ See also Sara Ahmed's (2006) and Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick's (1993) critical discussions of discourses around 'sexual orientation'.

homophobia! ('Campaign No Homophobia!'). In the abstract of the dissertation he notes:

The entities and institutions that produce a sexual knowledge have become broader and more diverse, which means that new groups assert themselves as disseminating sources of the 'truth' of sexual relations. [...] The objective of the present work is to scrutinise the strategies of visibility of the LGBT movement and its efforts to produce their 'truth', with the aim of extinguishing prejudice, discrimination and crimes that result from sexual orientation or gender identity. (Cotta 2009)

Cotta explicitly affirms the production of a new 'truth' for the purpose of fighting prejudice, discrimination and crimes. The possibilities for such a governmental undertaking are provided by the wider social and discursive shift outlined in the previous section. What the present research project calls attention to, however, are the paradoxical effects that such a new regime of truth summons. While the forms of knowledge and intelligibility established in the politics of public security summon problematic effects – in particular by staging the state as guarantor of people's safety – they simultaneously open up new agentic possibilities that are worth exploring.

The 'play of interests' and the problem of 'normalisation'

This question of truth is inextricably linked with the question of 'interest', which, in Foucault's analysis, allows apparatuses of government to establish what actions are or aren't useful. What is at stake here is "a complex interplay between individual and collective interests, between social utility and economic profit, between the equilibrium of the market and the regime of public

authorities, between basic rights and the independence of the governed” (2008: 44). Liberal governmentality, according to Foucault, is premised on such a complex interplay of interests, which constantly need to be set in relation to or against one another. Considering the relevance of the interplay of interests regarding governmental reason enables a further specification with respect to the positional shift of Brazilian LGBT activists from protesters of the margins to advocates of citizenship. Moreover, it enables a better understanding of the issues of ‘assimilation’ and ‘normalisation’ that have become manifest in relation to activism.

As pointed out earlier, articulations during the movement’s ‘first wave’ were premised on a position of deviance from the perspective of government. The ‘interests’ dominating this scene were concerns about the repression, discipline or control of ‘homosexuals’ or ‘perverts’. Activists could defiantly assert their excessive desire, but such articulations were hardly able to appear as ‘interests’, or only in negative or fragmentary ways. With the shift to a position ‘inside’ the polity (which in many ways is nonetheless still a precarious and marginalised position), activists started formulating their own interests directly, namely as ‘demands’. The LGBT movement, in other words, now participates directly in the articulation of interests that potentially limits, and at the same time guides, governmental action in interdependence with the articulation of other interests. Such a participation in the play of interests is what the notion of ‘advocacy’ comes down to. LGBT activists form a governmentally recognised ‘interest group’ that advocates for their rights and demands as citizens.

As LGBT activists now (at least to some extent) act as ‘advocates’ of citizenship that participate directly in the discursive staging and interplay of interests, it is not surprising that they narrate their own position often in terms of ‘protagonism’ (see Ch. 4). The newly gained possibilities of participating in

political spaces that were previously seen as excluding and repressing queer people foster a new sense of agency. At the same time, however, the figure of the 'victim', which activists avowedly leave behind, does not simply disappear. On the contrary, in the same breath as activists become 'protagonists', queer people more generally become a vulnerable population whose agency seems to centre around the use of services that are established along the various dimensions of 'LGBT citizenship' – which is precisely the imagination of agency that can be complicated with the question of *geborgenheit*.

Enacting the governmental play of interests has further implications, a consideration of which enables a more complex understanding of the issues that have been framed in terms of 'assimilation' and 'normalisation' in the critical debates mentioned in the beginning of this chapter. The political spaces where such interests are articulated are spaces of contestation. Brazilian LGBT activists have been pushing for a new regime of knowledge and practices in particular against the firm resistance of conservative and evangelical political agents – which have, for instance, to this date successfully blocked the introduction of a 'hate crime' law that would aggravate sentences committed against LGBT people. A great deal of strategising and manoeuvring in relation to resistant political actors has thus been integral to the politics of public security and of LGBT citizenship more broadly. This indicates that a politics of advocacy needs to articulate demands in relation to existing constellations of interests, which may in turn entail a presentation of issues in ways that make their realisation in the wider polity more likely. More generally speaking, demands need to be made intelligible as the demands of a population that can be taken care of by the state and other governmental actors.

A possible effect of framing demands in relation to the given constellation of interests is one of 'normalisation' that also pertains to the subjects at stake in the political process. The Brazilian anthropologist Sérgio

Carrara, who is also one of the researchers working on homophobic violence and discrimination, indicates this problem. Carrara (2005) suggests that gay men increasingly expect other gay men to perform virile rather than effeminate kinds of masculinity. “[...W]e need to start asking ourselves,” he notes, “to what extent the assimilation to prevailing gender norms is, for many, the price necessary for entering the universe of citizenship or successful conjugality. Do only virile, discrete and well-behaved homosexuals deserve paradise, after all?” Carrara’s statement indicates that such issues of normalisation are at play among gay people themselves and that this has implications for imaginations of citizenship. Setting this in relation to a governmental form of activism, the question arises to what extent the framing of queer people as a population in need of biopolitical care gives rise to expectations about lesbian, gay and trans people to perform ‘respectable’, ‘good’ or ‘normal’ subjects that deserve full citizenship. In a politics of advocacy, such issues of normalisation may be exacerbated, as demands are tailored towards their potential realisation. These issues will be further discussed in the following chapter and Part IV of the thesis (in particular Ch. 9).

Attending to paradoxes

A consideration of concrete governmental processes enables an engagement with how the very dynamics that summon problems of normalisation also open up new political possibilities. The articulation of demands may provoke a reframing, and queering, of prevalent norms and standards. As will be elaborated in the following chapter, a participation in the ‘governmental play of interests’ in the area of public security has enabled new ways of countering

violence and contributed to transforming Brazilian security apparatuses. These processes have been paradoxical and complex rather than straightforward.

Apart from the simultaneity of normalisation and new political possibilities, two further paradoxes need to be taken into account in relation to governmental LGBT activism, which I want to indicate only very briefly here. Firstly, enactments that emerged during the movement's first wave have persisted in several ways. Activists frequently retain a position of protesters from the margins in parallel to the position of advocates that formulate demands from within the polity. Rio's mentioned Superintendent for Individual, Collective and Diffuse Rights Cláudio Nascimento is a good example for how heterogeneous positions can continue to co-exist. After assuming his position in the state government, Nascimento continued to assert a position of militant and dissident, organising protest marches and speaking out against discrimination as a gay man – which also provoked controversies within Rio's LGBT movement with respect to the im/possibility of being social movement activist and government representative at once. Likewise, practices of consciousness-raising and informal support persist alongside the emergent establishment of public services. Again, engaging with the effects of current activist enactments thus entails attending to the contingent ways in which these enactments unfold in concrete contexts.

The second issue pertains to the precariousness of activist LGBT engagements in Brazil, where tendencies of institutionalisation are constantly being subverted by the factual unavailability of resources, forcing activists to make informal arrangements. A very fragmented unfolding of biopolitical governmentality provides a different context for governmental LGBT activism as compared to North Atlantic contexts. This issue is also connected to the first one, as one reason for the persistence of less institutionalised first-wave enactments seems to be precisely this precariousness, which forces activists to

build on informal support. Such paradoxical dynamics, then, constitute the current diagram of governmental activism, which is on the one hand related to the regime of truth that has taken shape around 'LGBT citizenship', and, on the other, to the articulation of 'demands' as part of the governmental 'play of interests'.

In the following chapter, I want to discuss the paradoxical field of LGBT public security activism in some detail. Before doing so, however, I want to provide an account of studies on homophobic and transphobic violence, in order to enable a better understanding of how the 'regime of truth' of LGBT citizenship has taken shape in the area of public security.

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INTERLUDE: STUDIES ON HOMOPHOBIC VIOLENCE AND DISCRIMINATION IN BRAZIL

Research and documentation around what has been called 'homophobic' – and sometimes 'transphobic' – 'violence' or 'discrimination' has played an integral role in LGBT public security activism. Since the 1980s, activism has called attention in particular to the high number of homicides committed against lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans people in Brazil. During the past decade, research on homophobia proliferated, and victimological studies as well as research on prejudice gained discursive prominence. The shift towards victimological studies was significant, as it ensued from the emergence of an activist engagement that centres not so much on the denunciation of violence, but rather on concrete governmental interventions that address the specific vulnerability of LGBT people. More intensely than the documentation of homicides, victimological approaches are concerned with particular kinds of risks that specific groups of the LGBT population are subjected to. Victimological studies have been constitutive of what in the previous chapter has been called a 'regime of truth' that invokes queer people as vulnerable minority population – which unfolds paradoxical effects that will need further discussion.

A major aim of this interlude is thus to comment on the specific forms of knowledge that have shaped activist practice. In order to gain a fuller understanding of these forms of knowledge, however, I will discuss not only victimological studies, but also documentations of homicides – which continue to be influential – and further initiatives. Anti-violence centres also need to be taken into account here, as they have played a significant role in the emergence

of an LGBT politics of public security. This overview will indicate some inherent limitations of different approaches, as well as the contingencies involved in mobilising certain forms of knowledge for making certain claims. Moreover, instead of limiting my account to how particular forms of knowledge are structured and deployed, it seems useful to also summarise key findings that circulate in political debates and provide an illustration of the concrete issues at stake. The section concludes by calling attention in particular to problems that ensue from focusing on the question of 'homophobia' in making political claims and thus making violence intelligible in a specific way.

The documentation of homicides

Dossiers and reports published since 1980 by Grupo Gay da Bahia (GGB) have guided representations of 'homophobic violence' in Brazil, in particular up the early 2000s when victimological studies started to gain significance. The dossiers are based on newspaper and internet articles and list annual numbers of homicides⁹⁵ of 'gays', 'travestis', and 'lesbians'. They also give numbers for different states, regions, ages, professions of victim and perpetrator, cause of death, location, and day of the week. Since the 1990s, the homicide numbers for Brazil in the dossiers have mostly been over 100 per year. In recent years, numbers were particularly high (187 cases in 2008 and 198 in 2009). It has been suggested that the numerous cases of violence since the 1990s are related to the increasing visibility of lesbian, gay and trans people, although this can only be a very partial explanation. Changing reporting practices certainly need to be considered as well, as more and more Brazilian LGBT groups have

⁹⁵ The reports use the term '*assassinados*' or assassination in order to indicate the 'homophobic' motivation of the acts, which I will come back to.

started to document cases, and the expansion of internet access has also introduced considerable changes.

The insights that can be gained from the GGB dossiers with respect to homo- and transphobic violence are limited due to their reliance on inconsistent public media reports. Moreover, the quantifiable aspects appearing in the dossiers, such as month, location or profession of victim and perpetrator, cannot easily be contextualised. Numbers of murders are furthermore not systematically set in relation to other aspects such as the population size in the case of regional comparisons, which may give rise to confusions. Nonetheless, GGB founder Luiz Mott and his colleagues have pointed out some issues arising from the reports and made some efforts to contextualise the findings (e.g. Mott 1996; Mott et al. 2002). In particular, *travestis* have formed a disproportionately high percentage of the victims. In their analysis of cases between 1997 and 2001, Mott et al. (2002) suggest that “the population of transgenders in Brazil should oscillate between 10 and 20 thousand individuals (in relation to 41 homicides), whereas gays should exceed 17 million (in relation to 88 victims)” (w/o pages). A great percentage of murders of *travestis* were committed in the context of street sex work (although in many cases no information regarding profession could be obtained) (Mott et al. 2002). According to the same publication, the percentage of blacks among the victims is also disproportionately high. As concerns gay men who became victims of homicides as documented in the dossiers, they come from all social classes and a diversity of occupations. Some groups like hairdressers and teachers, however, appear particularly often in the statistics, although the findings would need to be set in relation to the number of professionals in the different fields. The dossiers also present a relatively small number of homicides of lesbians, which, however, do not get public as often and are thus harder to identify.

As regards information on perpetrators, in numerous cases these have not been identified, so the data are even more fragmentary. In the cases where information exists, however, police and military feature prominently, as do sex workers and various low-income service providers. The vast majority of known perpetrators are male. Moreover, in a number of cases, homicides were committed by groups of men, some of which comprised neo-Nazis and death squads. Identifying the motivation of the murder on the basis of the data at hand is difficult. Mott et al. (2002) argue, however, that in virtually all of the documented cases there are indications of the 'homophobic' or 'transphobic' nature of the motivation, which allows them to be qualified as 'hate crimes' ('crimes de ódio'). This argument brings out a major aim of the research done by Mott and his colleagues apart from providing documentation of acts of violence as such. They state this aim also in their opening text, namely "to make public authorities more sensitive to investigate, arrest, sentence and make exemplary punishments of those who violate the human rights of homosexuals, implementing affirmative actions for this segment, equating sexual discrimination with racist crime [for which a hate crime legislation exists]" (w/o pages). This statement gives rise to questions regarding the concrete nature of the political claims attached to the research, which I will come back to later on.

The mentioned publications by Mott and his colleagues offer further analyses of which I only want to highlight regional differences, as this is of relevance to the present focus on Rio de Janeiro. The state of Rio de Janeiro does not count among the states with the highest number of homicides. In Mott et al.'s (2002) consideration of the findings of the year 2001, they point out the great number of homicides in the state of São Paulo. They also note that the situation in Pernambuco, in the Northeast, is even more worrying if the number of homicides is set in relation to population size. On the same

account, they highlight the state of Amazonas. They mention, however, that in several states no information regarding homicides of *travestis* was obtained, so that comparisons regarding this group cannot be made. As has been mentioned earlier, the dossiers published by GGB on a yearly basis do not include the population size of the states, although in their analysis the authors address this aspect with respect to some states. In order to get a better sense of the significance of population size in this respect, I used the GGB data for 2008 and 2009 and set them in relation to the population sizes of the different states. It needs to be kept in mind here that the numbers of actually occurring homicides are probably much higher than the numbers presented here, which are based on newspaper and internet reports (cf. Mott et al. 2002).

State	Homicides of gays/ travestis/lesbians 2008	Homicides of gays /travestis/lesbians 2009	Combined 2008-09	Population in mio.	Homicides/ mio. inhabitants
SE	6/4/1	2/1/-	14	2.0	7.0
AL	8/-/-	7/4/-	19	3.2	5.9
TO	1/1/-	4/-/-	6	1.2	5.0
RR	1/-/-	1/-/-	2	0.4	5.0
PE	15/11/1	10/3/1	41	8.8	4.7
...					
RJ	9/2/1	4/4/-	20	16.0	1.3
SP	11/7/-	7/7/-	32	41.4	0.7

Table 1: States with the highest per capita rates of homicides of gays, travestis and lesbians (2008-09).⁹⁶

Table 1 lists the five states with the highest per capita rates of homicides of gays, travestis and lesbians. Rio de Janeiro (RJ) – despite the twenty cases that

⁹⁶ Homicide numbers are based on the yearly GGB reports. Population sizes are estimates of the Brazilian Institutes of Geography and Statistics (IBGE) for the year 2009.

were reported in this period – takes only the 19th rank, and São Paulo is only among the seven remaining states. The first five states in the list (Sergipe, Alagoas, Tocantins, Roraima and Pernambuco) are all located in the Northeast and North of the country, which confirms the hypothesis that there are extensive manifestations of homo- and transphobic violence in the Northeast, adding the North. The small population size of most of these states, however, also indicates a serious problem in this kind of listing. If the two cases of homicides in Roraima had for some reason gone unnoticed, the state would have dropped from the fourth (or third, as it is equal with Tocantins) to the last rank in the list. Moreover, some states show considerable differences between the two years reported (e.g. Sergipe or Paraná, which do not appear here in my table).

A further research initiative worth mentioning in relation to the documentation of homicides is the so-called Trans Murder Monitoring Project (TMM), which was initiated in April 2009 by the NGO Transgender Europe (TGEU) in cooperation with the online journal *Liminalis: Journal for Sex/Gender Emancipation and Resistance* (see Balzer 2009). I joined this project as researcher in August 2010. The project collects data on homicides of trans people worldwide, thus responding to the fact that in Brazil and other countries the numbers of reported killings of trans people are much higher than those of lesbians and gays, if the relative share of trans people among the population as compared to the share of lesbians and gays is taken into account. In the first TMM reports of the years of 2008 and 2009, Brazil leads the list by far.⁹⁷ However, vast differences in access to information and reporting practices need to be taken into account. Carsten Balzer, the coordinator of the project, thus notes that the results need to be understood “in a way that says

⁹⁷ See http://www.transrespect-transphobia.org/en_US/tvt-project/tmm-results/january-2010.htm; accessed on 20 July 2010.

for example that Brazil is the leading nation on reported murders of trans people instead of Brazil is the leading nation on murders of trans people” (2009: 153). Yet, if relative numbers are taken into account, this needs to be further differentiated. In the year 2009, Brazil with 68 cases counted by the project and an estimated population size of 191 million, had a ratio of 0.36 homicides/million inhabitants, whereas Venezuela, with 22 cases and an estimated population of 30 million, had a ratio of 0.73. Guatemala, with 13 cases but a population of only around 13 million had a ratio of 1.0, and Honduras (14 cases, ca. 8 million inhabitants) even had a ration of 1.75.

As regards the political claims attached to these findings, Balzer highlights the significance of international human rights instruments such as the “Yogyakarta Principles on the Application of International Human Rights Law in relation to Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity”⁹⁸. S_he also comments on the Brazilian context, pointing out that Brazilian *travestis* have difficulties in finding other kinds of employment apart from sex work, which increases their risk of victimisation. With reference to hir own (2007) research in Rio de Janeiro, which was already referred to in Ch. 2, Balzer argues that “[i]n Rio de Janeiro the main reason for the lack of opportunities is the refusal of employers to hire trans people”, which for Balzer indicates a need for awareness-raising campaigns carried out by governmental institutions (2009: 156).

Anti-violence centres

Another set of reports is provided by the work of the anti-violence service centres for LGBT people (DDHs), which have been set up throughout the

⁹⁸ See <http://www.yogyakartaprinciples.org>; accessed on 1 July 2010.

country since 1999. As the next chapter shows, these centres have played a vital role in the emergence of governmental activism in the field of public security. In particular, these centres have been constitutive of the formation of a form of activism that is focused on the LGBT population and is mobilised for guiding governmental interventions in the field of security (as well as health care). The centres commonly publish annual reports on received calls by victims. In an analysis of the first 500 cases registered in Rio de Janeiro, insults, threats and extortion featured prominently, but also acts of physical violence and a range of discriminations at school and work, as well as in the familiar and neighbourhood context (Carrara et al. 2003: 21). What seems interesting here is that a third of the registered cases relate to the context of residence and neighbourhood, which indicates the significance of aggressions that are committed by family members and other people known to the victim, and are less spectacular than homicides (ibid.).

To my knowledge, no sustained analyses of DDH data have yet been published, apart from such basic reports. The concrete effects of the knowledge gained in the context of the DDHs are associated in particular with the ways in which the centres cooperate with other (especially state) institutions, such as the police, public security or employment offices. However, in many cases LGBT activists work in DDHs, which inserts a particular dynamism that I have addressed elsewhere (Hutta 2010).

Victimological studies

A strand of research that has grown increasingly influential over the past seven years concerns victimological studies of discrimination and violence, the majority of which have been conducted at LGBT parades (in Rio de Janeiro,

São Paulo, Minas Gerais and Recife).⁹⁹ This strand has been of particular relevance to the constitution of the mentioned ‘governmental’ re-orientation in activism. A specificity of the use of a victimological methodology is that it is not limited to victims of discrimination and violence, but aims to provide an overview of the population studied – in this case the participants of LGBT parades. Carrara and Ramos (2006) point out that this approach helps in opening up the view, beyond the martial scenario of homicides, to more everyday forms of violence and discrimination, which affect greater parts of the population. Moreover, a variety of forms of discrimination and violence is considered that can be related to differences such as gender, age or racial identity, which provides a more nuanced picture.

The first study was conducted in Rio de Janeiro in 2003 (Carrara et al. 2003). Experiences of violence and discrimination are investigated here in addition to questions around the motivations that made participants go to the parade as well as political attitudes and practices, and forms of sociability, conjugality, sexual practice, and HIV/AIDS prevention. Carrara et al. (2003: 7-10) emphasise, however, that due to a middle-class bias in the participants as well as methodical deficiencies no claim to ‘representativeness’ with respect to the wider LGBT population can be made. For statistical reasons, various identity groups are summarised under the categories ‘male homosexuals’, ‘female homosexuals’, ‘bisexuals’, ‘transgender’ and ‘heterosexual’ (the latter, however, not being considered in relation to experiences of violence and discrimination).

Almost 60% of all homosexual, bisexual and trans interviewees report experiences of discrimination with direct relation to homosexual orientation or transgender identity/performance, such as denial of entrance to commercial

⁹⁹ These studies, as well as further ones, can be downloaded from the homepage of the Brazilian LGBT Association (ABGLT, <http://www.abglt.org.br/port/pesquisas.php>; accessed on 20 July 2010).

establishments, expulsion from home, or bad treatment and problems at school or work and in the neighbourhood or by family members and friends. 56% report experiences of homo- or transphobic verbal aggressions. In both cases, no significant differences between gay men and lesbians were found, but black and trans people report a greater number of such experiences than female and male homosexuals. The authors highlight that almost 20% mention to have become victims of extortion, once more trans people featuring more prominently (31%) than female and male bi- and homosexuals (between 18 and 20%). 16.6% report physical aggression, trans people, however, considerably more often (42%) than gay males (20%) and lesbians (10%). 5.2% report to have been overpowered with narcotic drugs and subsequently robbed (*golpe boa noite cindarela*), in this case all of them being gay male, and most being over 40 years of age. 6.0% of the interviewees report sexual violence, male homosexuals more often (8%) than females (2%).

The study also asked for a ranking of the gravest (*mais marcante*) aggressions, and where and by whom these were committed. All groups classify aggressions that occurred in public spaces most often as the gravest (female homosexuals 46%, male homosexuals 53%, trans people 33%, bisexuals 67%). Homosexual women disproportionately often classified aggression in the home environment as gravest (22%), in comparison for instance to trans people (4%). These comparisons need to be interpreted especially carefully, however. The findings do not imply that most trans people in the study did not consider aggressions in the home environment grave, but only that they rated experiences that occurred in other locations – i.e. public places, commercial establishments, at work and at school – graver. Young people also report disproportionately often grave aggressions at home, as well as at school. Transgenders classify aggressions considerably more frequently as

grave in relation to commercial establishments and work than do lesbians and gays.

Almost half of the authors of aggressions classified as the gravest were committed by persons unknown to the victim. However, the generally high share of aggressors known to the victim, such as family members, friends, partners or neighbours, for Carrara et al. “reveals the extraordinarily high degree of conflicts created in the environment of home, family and neighbourhood” (25). Police and private security professionals are also mentioned as a significant group. The research also included the question of whether and how experiences of violence and discrimination have been communicated. A third of the aggressions classified as grave were found not to be communicated at all. Less than 10% were reported to the police, which the authors relate to a general distrust in public authorities combined with fear of the police on the part of gays and trans people. The authors find it even more surprising that only 2.7% of cases were found to be reported to LGBT groups and the DDH, which for them indicates that such forms of violence to a large extent remain not only without punishment but also unregistered. In almost half of the cases, the events were told to friends.

The research is the result of a collaboration between the Centre for Studies of Security and Citizenship (CESeC), which is based in Rio de Janeiro, and the Rio-based LGBT group Grupo Arco Íris. As the GGB and TMM dossiers, this strand of research explicitly pursues political aims. In the wake of the studies conducted at parades, further victimological research projects were started, although to my knowledge none has yet been published.

Further studies

An oft-cited study from a different strand of research, which I only want to mention briefly, is the one by the Perseu Abramo Foundation published in 2008 in collaboration with the German Rosa Luxemburg Foundation (which has already been mentioned in Ch. 1). The study shifts the perspective from victimisation to ‘prejudice’ against lesbian, gay and trans people among the population. A study published in 2009 by the FIPE research institute in collaboration of the INEP institute, which is associated to the Brazilian Ministry of Education, has a similar approach, but considers various forms of ‘prejudice’ (related to ethnicity/race, gender, generation, location, sexual orientation, socioeconomic status, disability/specific necessities) in the school context and includes students, professors, school directors, education professionals and parents (FIPE and INEP 2009). Both studies use the findings to point out widespread prejudice against homosexuals, trans people and others. What is interesting in the present context is that such an approach further promotes a ‘biopolitical’ framing, as, again, LGBT people are staged as a minority population subject to violence and discrimination and in need of governmental protection and care.

The politics of ‘homophobic violence’

The various forms of research and documentation have indicated a variety of forms of violence and discrimination that are intimately related to same-sex and trans identities and practices. While the state of Rio de Janeiro does not feature among the most ‘violent’ ones in terms of the homicides registered by Gay Group of Bahia, if relative population sizes are taken into account, studies

like the one by Carrara et al. (2003) with participants of Rio's LGBT parade in 2003 suggest the prevalence of diverse forms of physical, verbal and structural violence and discrimination in public and private spaces, institutions and work or school environments. Trans as well as black people report such experiences disproportionately often.

With respect to all the mentioned studies around violence and discrimination, the question arises of what concrete political claims get attached to these forms of knowledge. This question is also related to how 'violence' and 'discrimination' are being made intelligible, meaning what issues are addressed or neglected, and how these issues are framed (which Ch. 2 has already discussed in relation to 'urban' and racist violence). I want to briefly point out these two issues.

One of the political claims that has been attached to the studies of 'homophobic violence' has been the call for a 'hate crime' legislation, which aims at introducing more severe punishment for crimes committed against LGBT people.¹⁰⁰ Mott et al.'s call for making "public authorities more sensitive to investigate, arrest, sentence and make exemplary punishments of those who violate the human rights of homosexuals" has for instance been quoted earlier. A first line of critique of such an approach has been articulated by Jacobs and Potter (1998) in their influential *Hate Crime: Criminal Law and Identity Politics*. As the title suggests, the authors frame their critique in terms of an interrogation of identity politics, where different groups voice claims based on a particular ethnic, racial, sexual, etc., identity and thereby tend to both essentialise such identities and enter into a relation of competition with other groups. In the case of hate crime legislation, they argue, different groups claim a status of

¹⁰⁰ Especially in the US American context, there is an extensive literature on 'hate crime' legislations, which have emerged there in the mid 1980s. Chakraborti and Garland's (2009) *Hate Crime: Impact, Causes and Responses* provides a comprehensive discussion of the literature with respect to different fields of application and addresses the British context.

victimhood, which in their view leads to different groups competing, in politically unproductive ways, for the status of the victim.

A further problem with a political focus on hate crime legislation is that such a focus bears a danger of giving rise to a predominantly punitive approach to social problems. This means that state systems of punishment are invoked as the solution to the problem of violence – which in turn might affect in particular poor and black populations, which have fewer resources to challenge charges and may face discrimination in the criminal justice system (Lopes and Moreira 2005). On the other hand, however, activists have seen the relevance of hate crime legislation in particular in the symbolic effect of demonstrating that such crimes are not socially tolerated and sanctioned by the state (see Chakraborti and Garland 2009). In practice such a symbolic effect may have greater impact than the mobilisation of criminal justice itself.

Moreover, Mott et al. simultaneously call for ‘affirmative actions’ more broadly, which can mean several other things and indicates that an advocacy of hate crime legislation does not necessarily imply a full adoption of a punitive posture. A press release published by the Brazilian LGBT Association (ABGLT) in July 2010, for instance, mentions the high number of homicides of trans people in Brazil and proposes a campaign around seven issues, which include, apart from hate crime legislation, also issues such as the support of a campaign for the acceptance of trans people’s social name¹⁰¹ in public education; the approval of a project for enhancing trans people’s employment opportunities; or the implementation of a service hotline. This press release indicates the diverse political claims that can be attached to the documentations of GGB as well as to victimological studies. An interrogation

¹⁰¹ The question of the use of trans people’s social name – rather than the name they were given after birth, which ascribes a different gender to them – in official documents has been a major issue in Brazilian as well as international transgender activism (see <http://www.abglt.org.br/port/nomesocial.php> [accessed on 3 Aug. 2010] for a collection of Brazilian laws as well as advocacy documents related to this issue).

of the effects of the dossiers thus needs to consider the concrete ways in which these claims are formulated. What is particularly interesting here is that trans people and their specific demands are focused on – whereas the GGB reports, although pointing out the higher vulnerability of trans people, mostly focus on the question of ‘homophobia’ in a less differentiated way.

This leads to the second issue I want to highlight here, namely the eclipsing of dynamics of gender and ‘race’ in the focus on ‘homophobia’ and ‘sexual orientation’. Mott et al. (2002) make a strong argument in favour of understanding the reported cases as ‘homophobic hate crimes’. With this, they respond explicitly to allegations made in particular in the popular press that a great deal of cases appearing in the dossiers had actually been motivated by reasons unrelated to homophobia. Mott and colleagues point out, firstly, that even in cases where lucrative or other motives were present, the fact of the victim being homosexual or trans played an integral role, and, secondly, that in the majority of homicides, clear manifestations of intolerance and hatred became manifest, as homicides have been preceded by insults, torture or the use of multiple weapons, or their bodies have been mutilated (w/o pages). The generalised focus on ‘homophobia’ and the victims’ ‘sexual orientation’ in the GGB reports, however, tends to eclipse the issue of ‘transphobia’ and aspects that relate to the victim’s gender identity and expression, rather than their sexual orientation (see also Balzer 2009: 149-50). In victimological studies, there is a similar problem, as in studies like the one by Carrara et al. (2003), transgender identity is subsumed under ‘sexual orientation’. While both GGB and the researchers pursuing victimological research do highlight specific issues pertaining to trans people in parts of their analyses, there is nonetheless a tendency to privilege issues of ‘sexual orientation’. In a similar vein, the issue of phenotype/racial identity might deserve more attention, as black people appear disproportionately often both in documentations of homicides and

victimological research. The fact that studies like the one by Carrara et al. (2003) explicitly addresses racial identity is an indication that there is an awareness of the significance of this issue. Nonetheless, terms like 'homophobia' might hinder a fuller engagement with how forms of violence related for instance to gender, sexuality and 'race' are distinct as well as interrelated.

6. PARADOXICAL STRUGGLES FOR SECURITY

Public security is the security of the public – i.e. in a simultaneously wide and rigorous sense, the security of the collective, of citizens....

Marcelo Lopes de Souza¹⁰²

The LGBT politics of public security flourished in the context of wider endeavours on the part of the left since the mid 90s to transform public security, which has unfolded alongside, however, and partly intersected, with a technocratic project of modernising public security according to neoliberal demands. ‘Public security’, or ‘*segurança pública*’, has thus a particular genealogy in Brazil, which also bears similarities to what is termed ‘*seguridad pública*’ in Spanish speaking countries of Latin America. This genealogy is markedly different from what in the UK or USA is commonly termed ‘public safety’, involving also aspects commonly associated with ‘security’ in English-speaking contexts, although ‘*segurança pública*’ does not directly correspond to ‘national’ or ‘homeland security’ either.

As various authors have pointed out (e.g. Pinheiro 2000; Bailey and Dammert 2006; Pagliai 2006; Ramos 2007), the central dynamics around national and public security in many Latin American countries can be sketched in terms of a two-fold periodisation.¹⁰³ Between the 1960s and 80s, when Brazil and other countries in the region were governed by military dictatorships, both national and public security were framed first and foremost in relation to what

¹⁰² Souza 2008: 150.

¹⁰³ Some of the literature, however, neglects the class- and race-related underpinnings of how securitisation got framed, an issue that I highlight here.

was staged as the threat of communism, a framing that expressed the elites' struggle to maintain their hegemonic position. There was thus no clear distinction between external and internal security. Public security focused on the control and elimination of political dissidents as well as various manifestations of 'disorder', which lead to the formation of militarised police apparatuses that were under the control of the armed forces. Especially poor, black and indigenous populations as well as gay and trans people became targets of the militarised control regime, as has been mentioned already in Chapter 2. In Brazil, this militarisation happened after the suspension of the 1967 Constitution, establishing certain continuities with 19th and 20th centuries practices, where the police was used for hunting escaped slaves and controlling poor populations. While North Atlantic countries also formulated national security around the 'threat' of communism, their interior politics have featured 'public safety' systems of crime control that focus on the population's safety. In Brazil, such a public safety system existed in only in fragmented ways, built into the authoritarian security regime.

With the end of the Cold War, the establishment of democratic systems, and further (in particular neoliberal) transformations in the 80s and 90s this organisation security in Latin American countries changed. However, while the mandate of the armed forces was restricted by the new constitutions to the defence of the national territory, decidedly democratic 'public safety' systems were still not developed¹⁰⁴ – for a number of reasons. While the threat of communism, as well as the authoritarian apparatuses meant to contain or eliminate it, disassembled, new problems and threats gained public attention, such as rapidly increasing physical violence, especially as related to illegal drug and arms trafficking within and across countries. This relates to the discursive

¹⁰⁴ Cf. Soares (2006: 111), who also points to a similar problem of a failure to democratise security in South Africa, Russia and Eastern European countries, which entered democratisation processes in the 1990s.

complex of 'urban violence' addressed in Ch. 2 New issues were thus framed in terms of a security agenda – in ways that once more enabled privileged, richer and 'whiter', groups to maintain a hegemonic position. Paulo Sérgio Pinheiro (2000) summarises: "Police and other institutions of the criminal justice system tend to act as border guards protecting the elites from the poor." (126, see also Wacquant 2008) A further set of circumstances contributing to this hegemonic framing of public security is related to vested interests in the established militarised police apparatuses themselves (Soares 2006: 111). Anthropologist Luiz Eduardo Soares, an eminent scholar on public security and former public security coordinator of the state of Rio de Janeiro (1999-2000) as well as National Secretary of Public Security (Jan.-June 2003), furthermore mentions the failure by the political left to push for transformation:

Conservatives convinced themselves that there was no need for change, because the traditional model maintained the police as instrument for state security, quite in the authoritarian style that marks our history. Progressive actors did not even want to hear any talk about the police after years of fleeing from its clutches. [...] They were good in denunciation and criticism, but weak in terms of constructive propositions. (Ibid.)

Soares indicates a confluence of conservative and progressive stances resulting in a maintenance of the status quo.

Due to such dynamics as struggles for sovereignty that are buttressed by privileged groups, vested interests in the military police, and the failure of the left to critically engage the issue, public security was reborn in the political process of democratisation modelled on the authoritarian security regime of the dictatorship. In Brazil, after the new constitution was signed in 1988, the police thus remained on the margins of the process of democratisation. The

separation between civil and military police has been maintained, and, as in many other Latin American countries, the armed forces have repeatedly been mobilised in addition to the police to intervene into urban conflicts. As writers like Ramos (2006: 25-6) note, violent conflicts and martial police interventions aggravated during the past two decades. Moreover, a range of illegal policing practices including corruption, torture, extrajudicial killing and the collaboration with criminal groups have persisted and even proliferated.¹⁰⁵ This militarised organisation is supported by a violent-masculinist ethos that envisions control as virile domination and regards expressions of femininity – as well as homosexuality and transgender – as subordinate. These developments in the policing apparatuses also need to be seen in the context of a reinvigoration of law and order politics, which has led to an intensification of punitive forms of control and an expansion of the prison system during the past decades (Lopes and Moreira 2005: 86).

In the mid 90s, however, new endeavours to democratise public security also started to take shape. 'Public security' itself was partly re-signified in terms of social and institutional forms that enable the security of all citizens, in particular oppressed and marginalised groups, and that include, but also go beyond, questions of police and criminal justice, also addressing for instance issues of economic inequalities. Moreover, with the radical neoliberalising agenda of the Cardoso government (1995-2002), demands for technocratic modernisation as well as structural reformation were voiced. This agenda in

¹⁰⁵ On this issue see Cano (2006: 140), Soares (2006: 117), Leeds (2007), Ramos (2007: 25-6), and Wacquant (2008). Leeds (2007) notes:

In the period of approximately twenty years since Brazil's process of democratization began in the mid-1980s, the sector that made least progress is criminal justice, in particular, the police. The democratic constitution of 1988, which, on the paper, at least, changed virtually all aspects of government, left the police institutions unchanged. One need only read the newspapers of most Brazilian cities, Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International reports or the recently released reports of the United Nations' special envoy on extra-judicial killings to discover that police violence and corruption continue to plague Brazilian society, and low income populations in particular. (29, quoted in Ramos 2007: 25)

some ways intersected with the democratising efforts, in particular as both saw innovative potential in new forms of networking and a concern with issues of prevention and vulnerability.

In what follows, I want to take a closer look at this highly dynamic constellation, from which the LGBT politics of public security emerged. The coexistence of efforts of 'democratisation' and processes of 'neoliberalisation' forms the wider paradoxical scenario that is at stake in my interrogation of the LGBT public security politics. I want to provide an overview of the major developments that have led to this scenario. I will then use writings by authors that focus on each of these processes and call attention to how they do or not address paradoxes and complexities. The last part of the chapter then discusses the simultaneity of 'democratising' and 'neoliberalising' dynamics in relation to LGBT activism more specifically and calls attention to some paradoxes that need to be taken into account here.

Democratisation and neoliberalisation

In her doctoral thesis, Silvia Ramos (2007) provides an account of the extent to which the hegemonic security regime in Brazil has (and hasn't) been critically engaged by academics and intellectuals, state authorities, the media, social movements and NGOs. One of the earliest engagements that have had significance up to the present day, Ramos (2007: 32-4) points out, came from feminist critiques of the criminal justice system in the late 1970s and early 80s. Still before the election of the first democratic federal government in 1985, this led to the proposition by feminist groups to create specialised police stations for women (DEAMs). Surprisingly for many, this proposal was accepted by public security officials, with the first police station for women opening in

1985. Although feminists in subsequence did not effectively accompany or monitor the development of the specialised stations and the politics of public security (ibid.), this engagement was remarkable as it anticipated a broader shift happening much later in other movements, such as the LGBT movement, from a politics of denouncing violence towards a positive engagement with public security. Since the 1990s, an increasing number of NGOs, private actors and social movements pushed in different ways and from different angles towards a transformation of the authoritarian and militarised security system. The growing political significance of issues of ‘citizenship’ and human rights since the mid 1980s (see Ch. 5) contributed to this impetus to democratise – although, as Ramos emphasises, the number of actors explicitly engaging with the topic of public security has remained small as compared to other issues, like health or education.

With the emergence of neoliberal politics in the 90s, calls for changes have also been voiced increasingly within the broader political arena and the public security apparatus itself, as the police was seen to be in need of serious reorganisation in terms of technological renovation, new forms of networking and collaboration with (commercial and non-commercial) civil society actors (Lopes 2009). In an area of São Paulo, for instance, a public-private security network was established in the mid 1990s, where local commercial businesses sponsored preventative and repressive actions carried out by the police as well as private security firms (Neto 2006.). These developments bear some similarities to those identified by critical criminologists like Adam Crawford (1997; Crawford 2002) or David Garland (2001) with respect to North Atlantic contexts. Garland notes the emergence of a new sector of public-private partnerships and “multi-agency working practices that link together the different authorities whose activities bear upon the problem of crime and security” (170). A consequence of this development is, according to him, “that

the formal boundaries of the crime control field are no longer marked out by the institutions of the criminal justice state” (170). He continues: “That field now extends beyond the state, engaging the actors and agencies of civil society, allowing crime control practices to be organized and directed at a distance from the state agencies” (ibid.). Moreover, Garland argues, such a spreading out of the field of crime control instigates a new concern with prevention, risk management and community safety: “Instead of pursuing, prosecuting and punishing individuals, [that field] aims to reduce the supply of criminal events by minimizing criminal opportunities, enhancing situational controls, and channelling conduct away from criminogenic situations” (171). In Brazil, however, such developments have been far less consistent. As several writers (e.g. Bailey and Dammert 2006; Cano 2006; Dellasoppa and Saint’Clair Branco 2006; Ramos 2007; Soares 2006) have pointed out, on the federal level, policies on public security have been tentative and inconsistent, frequently failing to be carried through due to bad management, budget cuts, poor planning or change in the political climate.¹⁰⁶ On the level of the states, where military and civil police are administratively located, some – again tentative – developments towards community policing and local security councils, crime-stoppers phone lines or geo-mapping have however taken place (Cano 2006: 142-3).

Reform policies since the late 90s have grown out of a conjuncture of reinvigorated law and order politics on the one hand and struggles for democratisation on the other, with neoliberal modernisation playing a constitutive role in relation to both – although in complex and in part paradoxical and contested ways. I leave aside a further discussion of how law

¹⁰⁶ Furthermore, symbolic responses to acute, medially hyper-present issues rather than sustainable engagements have been dominating, leading to an overall picture of a politics of ‘muddling through’ (Dellasoppa & Saint’Clair Branco 2006). Quite tellingly, one of the most ambitious projects in the striving for a more democratic security system, the National Plan on Public Security, was launched in the year 2000 in immediate response to public outcry related to the nationally televised hostage drama around Bus 174 in Rio de Janeiro (Cano 2006: 138-9; Dellasoppa & Saint’Clair Branco 2006: 24).

and order politics have been shaped by neoliberalism, and instead want to highlight only the paradoxical connection between efforts to democratise public security and neoliberal reform. The creation of 'community councils' (*conselhos comunitários*) in Rio de Janeiro in 1999, when the mentioned Luiz Eduardo Soares was the state's Coordinator of Public Security, illustrates this connection. While these councils push forward the kinds of multi-agency prevention networks that authors like Garland discuss in the context of neoliberalisation and provoked discontent regarding uneven possibilities of participation with respect to different groups, their creation simultaneously formed part of an effort to approximate military and civil police to one another and to re-orient police action towards citizens' demands (Teixeira 2005).

The Brazilian context, with its highly uneven organisation of civic and social forms of citizenship and its militarised security apparatus, endows the re-articulation of public security here with a different kind of significance as compared to North Atlantic contexts. What is at stake is not simply the shift from one regime of control to another, but, concomitantly, from authoritarianism to democracy. This announces a complex and paradoxical intersection of heterogeneous dynamics. Academic writings, however, have tended to focus on either of these processes, rather than engaging this paradoxicality. Nonetheless, these writings bring out a number of issues that need to be taken into account. I thus want to highlight the issues addressed in the respective strands of writing and then point out the significance of attending to the ensuing paradoxes in relation to the LGBT politics of public security. As I have already referred to the proponents of the argument around democratisation in the above, I will comment on this issue only briefly and focus on the argument around a new regime of control.

Writers like Ramos or Soares, who have been referred to in the previous two sections, focus in particular on the potential for democratisation arising from new forms of securitisation. They emphasise the need for situating public security within a wider social agenda that addresses the violent realities of poor, black and marginalised populations and takes articulations of actors like the LGBT or the favela youth movements into account (e.g. Ramos 2007; Soares 2006). They argue that an engagement with public security does not necessarily mean supporting conservative and authoritarian politics, but, quite on the contrary, is vital to the process of democratisation itself (see also Zaluar 2005: 13). In a similar vein, although somewhat more wary of new models of policing, geographer Marcelo Lopes de Souza (2008) notes:

[...]Public security must not and need not be reduced to a 'police issue', be it in the merely repressive sense, be it, more broadly speaking, in the 'preventive' sense. Public security is the *security of the public* – i.e. in a simultaneously wide and rigorous sense, the security of *the collective, of citizens* –, be it in public spaces, be it in their private spaces of residence or work. It is the guarantee to know, not that no violence will occur (which would be an illusion, even in a basically self-directed society: how could crimes of passion be avoided?...), but, instead, that the risk of someone suffering an aggression, especially regarding certain types of violent crime, has been reduced as much as possible. This reduction of risks must not derive merely from the deployment of a state security apparatus. (150; emphasis in the orig.)

Souza thus makes an argument for imagining public security as a broad and progressive democratic project, which includes but also goes beyond engaging with its public and institutional organisation in terms of the police. Calling

attention to blatant inequalities as well as authoritarian, violent and corrupt forms of government, he is particularly keen on putting a stronger focus on politics that are “not *merely* or *immediately* politics of public security, but rather politics of *socio-spatial development of and in the city*” (42, emphasis in the orig.).

These discussions resonate with my present approach in that they aim to bring out productive potentials of engagements with public security. They denounce militaristic, authoritarian and masculinist institutions and approaches and point to the need, and possibility, of transforming public security into a resource that marginalised groups of people can mobilise against discrimination and violence. They thus consider the current political situation as dynamic and allowing for a creative re-articulation of social and governmental practices. However, as police reform has become not only a concern of social movements and left intellectuals but also a necessity of neoliberal government, democratising efforts and the establishment of a new authoritarian regime of control are often perilously close to each other, which announces a paradoxical coexistence of democratisation and neoliberalisation. Edson Lopes (2009) is among the commentators concerned with this latter aspect.

Denouncing control

Lopes considers these two aspects of democratisation and neoliberalisation as different sides of the same coin. He invokes Foucault’s (1975/1995) argument according to which 19th and 20th century European discourses of prison reforms actually served to establish new and more efficient forms of control and subjectivation (a point that critical criminologists have reiterated in other contexts, for instance Stanley Cohen (1985) with respect to US American

community politics since the 1960s). Lopes points out in particular that with the proliferation of new 'democratic' approaches, such as 'citizen-oriented' policing, martial and militarised strategies have by no means disappeared, but rather intensified. In fact, in Rio de Janeiro, the official number of yearly killings by the police has grown from 300 in 1997 to 1330 in 2007 (Ribeiro et al. 2008),¹⁰⁷ in parallel with the consolidating discourse on citizen-oriented policing. If we follow Lopes' argument, this is not merely a result of the failure to consistently implement new, more democratic policies. Citizen-oriented and martial approaches are rather complementary in that both serve, each in different ways, to extend and intensify a criminalising and punitive approach to social problems. In the mentioned English-speaking debates, the simultaneity of 'punitive segregation' and a preventive approach concerned with 'community safety' and 'criminogenic situations' has also been noted (Garland 2001; for a summary see Moran & Skeggs 2004: 32-3), although Lopes (2009: 58) critiques Garland for supposing a dualism between prevention and repression and failing to conceive them as complementary techniques.

With respect to Brazilian debates, Lopes points out that while intellectuals and politicians like Eduardo Soares (who has been active as both intellectual/scholar and politician) emphasise 'citizenship' and criticise certain forms of militarised intervention, they simultaneously promote neoliberal approaches of 'community safety', fostering their adoption from the US context (41). Lopes takes issue in particular with the government programs that, since the late 1990s, pushed forward new police practices in conjunction with what can be called a new regime of truth of 'public security'. The Cardoso administration's National Plan on Public Security of 2000, Lopes indicates, is

¹⁰⁷ I am using the numbers of cases registered as 'justifiable police homicides', a category that has been contested as there are indications that a considerable part of the killings registered in Rio de Janeiro have actually not happened in legitimate defence, but were summary executions (Ribeiro et al. 2008).

characterised by a rhetoric of modernisation, technical improvement and an extension of crime-related data bases. This technocratic orientation is supplemented in Lula's Public Security Plan of 2003 (developed by the mentioned Soares and others), as well as the 2007 National Program of Public Security with Citizenship (PRONASCI), where an emphasis is put on preventive police activities with respect to 'vulnerable' subjects and 'high-risk' areas. Especially with this emphasis on 'vulnerability', 'risk' and 'prevention', Lopes argues, entire segments of the population – namely the poor, black and marginalised – are subjected to a new regime of control. They are framed as bearers of risks that are prone to becoming both victimised and criminal, and their environments get screened for 'criminogenic' factors (which, again, relates back to David Garland's argument). Human rights and citizenship NGOs, according to Lopes, participate actively in promoting this new regime of knowledge and practices, shifting the focus away from structural and economic inequalities and sustained social political engagement.

Lopes' critique resonates no less with the present research than the aforementioned embracing approaches to public security, although in different ways. In particular, he calls attention to interrelated dynamics of victimisation and securitisation that are of great pertinence here. He indicates how children and youth are staged as 'vulnerable' subjects that are in need of specific forms of securitisation (Lopes 2009: 121-2). I come back to this issue of 'vulnerability' later on. However, where writers like Ramos and Soares tend to elide such subjectivating dynamics of governmentality in their promotion of new forms of securitisation, Lopes goes to the other extreme, as he provides an undifferentiated account and leaves possibilities for effective democratisation entirely out of the picture.

Lopes glosses over a significant political re-orientation in Lula's 2003 program in relation to Cardoso's, namely the very explicit focus, not only on

technical improvements, but on social issues like economic disparities, racial, sex- and gender related marginalisation and, not least, police violence. 'Justiça Global', an organisation that has been following public security debates in highly critical ways, thus notes that "[t]he elementary characteristics of the National Plan of Public Security of President Lula's first mandate were original and responded to various proposals made by civil society".¹⁰⁸ The Plan elaborates on "violence against minorities" as a central issue, addressing LGBT people as well as blacks, the elderly and adolescents,¹⁰⁹ thus establishing a connection with issues that have become important political levers for social movements. While with this focus minority populations are in fact being rendered amenable to governmental management, they simultaneously gain new access to public resources. This focus thus expresses *both* a shift towards new governmental technologies with certain subjectivating effects, *and* an invigoration of social issues in the field of security. Governmental control and democratisation, from this point of view, are not per se two sides of the same neoliberal coin, but two at least potentially heterogeneous dynamics that are at work simultaneously. This already indicates how a paradoxical constellation takes shape in the field of LGBT public security. In the remainder of the chapter, I elaborate on how an LGBT politics of public security has emerged within this intricate constellation and on the kinds of paradoxes that have thereby been summoned.

¹⁰⁸ <http://global.org.br/programas/seguranca-publica-e-violencia-institucional/> , accessed on 8 May 2010.

¹⁰⁹ 'Domestic' and gender-related violence is addressed as a separate topic. Reference to poverty and disability is made only on few occasions.

The emergence of an LGBT politics of public security

From the early 1980s to the late 90s, political activism around homo- and transphobic violence had two foci. On the one hand, there were self-organised forms of victim support. In the 1990s in Rio, for instance, the group Atobá, located in Rio de Janeiro's West Zone, ran a combined violence and HIV/AIDS hotline, and Arco-Íris, located in changing places in more central areas of the city, ran projects to raise consciousness among gays around violent assaults (Martins 2001: 43). Often, problems were addressed informally and victims were taken care of by queer networks of friendship and activism. Although harder to document, such organised forms safety practices were certainly furthermore complemented by various more individual strategies (which are also highlighted, in a different context, by Moran and Skeggs 2004: 48). On the other hand, as regards more public articulations, the focus was on the denunciation of violence committed by both state and society – most prominently in the reports by Gay Group of Bahia (GGB) that are based on newspaper articles and that have been published since 1980 (see Interlude). As Silvia Ramos and Sérgio Carrara (2006) hypothesise, this form of engagement played an important role in framing the voice of activism as one of protest from the margins:

The emphasis on lethal violence, the exposition of cadavers and a reiteration of the consummate tragedy may have contributed to distancing gay activism, until the end of the 1990s, from a more 'constructive' [*propositivo*] posture regarding the topic of violence. [...]

The gay movement remained, until the late 90s, within the perspective of denunciation, affirming a representation of gays as 'victims' of unavoidable violence. (192)

Until the late 1990s, anti-violence activism was thus articulated from a position of marginality, even if – as outlined in the previous chapter – a shift towards the articulation of positive claims around citizenship from within the polity started taking place already in the 80s. In fact, the approach of the group GGB already associates denunciation with pragmatic claim-making and advocacy.

In the late 90s, a notable shift took place that led to a rearticulation of anti-violence politics and the emergence of an LGBT politics of public security. Previous forms of activism did, however, not simply cease to exist but were rather interwoven, in paradoxical ways, with new ones. The GGB dossiers on ‘homophobic murders’, for instance, play an important role up to the present day and are frequently mobilised in the advocacy of citizenship, and so do various forms of informal support or public denunciation. While the representation of gays as ‘victims’ did not simply disappear, positions of both queer people and activists changed as part of the turn to ‘governmental’ politics of LGBT citizenship discussed in Chapter 5. This shift is announced by the setting-up, in July of 1999, of an LGBT anti-violence project at the Office for Public Security of the state of Rio de Janeiro. The *Disque Defesa Homossexual* (DDH), as the project was called, was meant to

effect a rapid provision of both means of crime prevention (setting up police forces in places and situations where violence occurs) and services for victims of crimes that have already occurred (mobilising the police to investigate aggressors and articulating networks of psychological and juridical help on the part of NGOs) (Ramos & Carrara 2006: 192).

At the time, many activists considered this the most significant event in the history of the movement (Martins 2001: 43). At least it is safe to say that the DDH marked a shift towards an LGBT politics of public security that formed

an integral part of the movement's turn towards a politics of 'citizenship'. Chapter 9 comes back to the DDH.

This shift re-articulated the relation between activism, queer people and the state in a way that resonates with Moran and Skeggs' (2004) account of shifting politics of LGBT safety in the North. They argue that, while a key focus has hitherto been the challenging of the state and the forms of violence the 'law' exerts through securing a heteronormative order, there is now a tendency towards resisting 'through the law': "A significant difference is that this politics, rather than taking the form of a challenge to law's violence, takes the form of a demand for full access to law's violence and to the use of law's violence against the status quo." (22) The authors also note that so far little activism or scholarship has addressed this form of engagement (ibid.). However, the Brazilian case seems to me more intricate in that the mobilisation of 'law's violence' by the LGBT movement operates within a wider project of re-fashioning public security, understood in a broader sense as 'the security of the public', as Souza (2009) puts it. It is thus not only an attempt to "turn the state against itself" so as to "revalorise heteronormative violence as *a violence of social disorder*" as the authors also remark (27; emphasis in the orig.), but, moreover, an attempt to re-make the practical ways in which lawful violence itself is enacted (e.g. by the police), and to an extent also to engage with social issues beyond the police and criminal justice.

During the past decade, there has been a discursive explosion around LGBT public security that took place across the fields of LGBT activism, governmental action and institutions of public security. After the DDH was set up in Rio de Janeiro, the model – most commonly under the label '*centro de referência*' ('reference centre') – travelled to other places all over the country. (The homepage of the ABGLT currently lists 37 reference centres that have already been or are in the process of being established, which means an average

of more than one per state.)¹¹⁰ Several states, as well as federal institutions such as the Brazilian Special Secretary of Human Rights (SEDH) and the National Secretary of Public Safety at the Justice Ministry (SENASP), have supported – if often in fragmentary ways – the installation of these centres.¹¹¹

Apart from the installation of reference centres, a number of further developments have taken place. The public security plans of 2003 and 2007, which elaborate on sexual minorities, have already been mentioned. The National Plan of Public Security from 2003 makes explicit reference to the experience of Rio's DDH as a model to be followed. Moreover, Lula's government in 2004 launched the national program 'Brazil without Homophobia' (*Brazil sem Homofobia*), which has become an important reference for activism across Latin America and includes an outline for public security politics. The government also convened several national and state conferences where LGBT politics of public security have been explicitly addressed and elaborated in interactions of activists, government representatives and public security professionals.¹¹² A particular field of engagement has taken shape around practices of policing that correspond quite closely to Moran and Skeggs summary of proposals in the Northern context:

For example, the police should take the violence already reported and thereby known more seriously. They should pursue known offenders more vigorously. New reporting mechanisms that will encourage wider reporting should be developed and promoted. New policing responses that are more sympathetic to lesbian and gay [and trans, SH] victims of

¹¹⁰ See <http://www.abglt.org.br/port/centrosref.html>; accessed on 23 Jun. 10

¹¹¹ There have been intense debates regarding how to finance, structure and institutionalise the centres, and there have been disagreements, for instance, as to whether they should be run by queer volunteers or be fully integrated into the state architecture.

¹¹² Most notable are here the 1st National Seminar on Public Security and the Combat of Homophobia (Rio de Janeiro, April 2007, which has been mentioned in the Preface), the 1st National LGBT Conference organised by the Brazilian government in cooperation with the LGBT movement (Brasília, June 2008), and the 1st National Conference of Public Security, (Brasília, August 2009)

violence need to be established. Specialist training and dedicated officers should be created to realise these objectives. (17)

New courses and modules for police education around issues of human rights, homosexuality and gender identity have also been designed, as a result of these initiatives. The (as yet unsuccessful) 'hate crime' law project 5003/2001 proposed in 2001, which was turned into PLC 122/2006 in 2006 and criminalises various kinds of discrimination and prejudice in relation to sexual orientation and gender identity, has formed a further element of LGBT activism around public security. On a practical level, LGBT carnival events and parades have been further contexts where such politics have been played out, as the LGBT movement has collaborated with both public and private security actors in securitising such events.

While this field has thus grown increasingly complex, comprising a range of sites, actors and scales, a set of dynamics has taken shape with the shift towards this kind of political engagement that seems worth further attention. These dynamics have to do with the governmental logic that guides the LGBT politics of public security. I want to focus on how this logic establishes a new regime of truth and promotes a participation in the 'governmental play of interests' but simultaneously, and paradoxically, opens up new political possibilities.

The paradox of 'vulnerability'

The notion of 'vulnerability' is at the centre of the paradoxical dynamics at stake here, as it has played a key role in establishing a new regime of truth. Through a focus on LGBT people's specific 'vulnerabilities', they are framed as a sub-population in need of specific demands for governmental care (see Ch.

5). This regime of truth has unfolded effects of subjectivation and control, yet simultaneously has enabled activists to make new kinds of political claims. In order to discuss this paradox, it is useful to consider the victimological studies that emerged with the proliferation of LGBT public security discourses and have complemented, and in part displaced, the GGB dossiers on 'homophobic murders'. As has been discussed in the Interlude, these studies address LGBT people's experiences of verbal and physical violence as well as various forms of discrimination.

Staging vulnerable subjects

The victimological study carried out at the LGBT Parade in Rio de Janeiro in 2003 – and which resulted from a collaboration of researchers (Silvia Ramos amongst them) with Rio's major LGBT organisation Arco-Íris – has often been referred to in political articulations of the LGBT movement. One of the findings is that around 60% of all interviewees reported to have already experienced some kind of discrimination, including verbal or physical aggression. This finding is then used by the researchers for making political claims:

[...T]he results continue to indicate the vulnerability of Brazilian gays, lesbians, transsexuals and *travestis* as regards violence and discrimination. The experience of being socially discriminated seems to be almost constitutive of homosexual identities, given that more than half of our sample reports to have already been victim to various types of aggression, especially verbal aggressions and discrimination in public spaces, at work, at school etc., due to their sexual orientation or identity. As concerns the guarantee of civic rights, the protection of

Brazilian gays, lesbians, *travestis* and transsexuals from the forms of violence that victimise them is thus imperative on the part of public authorities (police and criminal justice system). (Carrara et al. 2003: 27)

The report indicates how a specific kind of knowledge – a ‘regime of truth’ – takes shape at the intersection of academic and activist engagements that is mobilised in favour of a particular kind of intervention. A state of affairs that could be read in various ways – “more than half of our sample reports to have already been victim to various types of aggression...” – is inserted into a particular frame of intelligibility that is framed around “the vulnerability of Brazilian gays, lesbians, transsexuals and *travestis*” and their “protection ... on the part of public authorities”.

Moran and Skeggs (2004) have referred to the kind of intelligibility summoned by victim surveys as a ‘crime paradigm’: “Through these surveys”, they note, “violence is made intelligible as a breach of the (criminal) law, as a wrong against the individual, against the community” (16). This also entails the assumption “that those who have suffered harms arising out of violence will want to define either the incident or the injuries as ‘criminal’” (53). Criminal justice and the police are staged as *the* solution and guarantor of LGBT people’s safety, which has the implication of aiming for an extension and improvement of state technologies of prevention and repression. This, the authors go on to argue, summons problematic effects and shifts the focus away from the ongoing relevance of alternative practices of safety. Silvia Ramos herself points out a related issue, even if she frames it in terms of a risk to be aware of, rather than an actual problem: “[T]he risk of the gay movement following a punitive perspective (and an incarcerating one, should it opt to demand ‘prison sentence’ as a rule for perpetrators of homophobia) is not far away [...]” (118). This indicates how a ‘crime paradigm’ also summons new

ways of understanding and dealing with 'perpetrators' and risks getting aligned with law and order politics.

To Moran and Skeggs argument we can add that such a 'crime paradigm' rests, not only on making violence intelligible as breach of the law, but simultaneously on constituting particular subjects as vulnerable. In the report, an apparently essential relation is established between LGBT people and vulnerability. LGBT people, we can say, are being *constituted* as a vulnerable, victimised, population. This gets also clear in the formulation: "The experience of being socially discriminated seems to be almost constitutive of homosexual identities." This link between LGBT people and vulnerability is based on an elision of various issues. The conditions under which people who participate in such a survey do or do not state whether they have been subjected to particular forms of violence – which already presupposes certain forms of understanding and identifying violence and discrimination – is left out of the picture. Likewise, how participants evaluate and experience different instances of 'violence' or 'discrimination', what significance such instances have, what kinds of viable responses may have already been developed, or how they might themselves be implicated within such instances, is not being addressed.

The invocation of the law and the police as *the* solution to problems of violence, then, rests on a staging of subjects as vulnerable, which itself has particular effects. This relates to Edson Lopes' critique of 'vulnerability' and the ways in which subjects and their environments become amenable to governmental forms of control. Elaborating on his issue, Lopes (2009) notes: "Vulnerability actualises stigmas as well as a selectivity that is indispensable for the penal system, and certainly integrates populations into the traps of the democratic governmentality that manages the common [...]" (121-2).

According to this argument, the focus on 'the experience of being socially

discriminated' actualises and exploits the very stigma of homosexuality, establishing a regime of truth that constitutes certain subjects as 'vulnerable' so as to make them governmentally manageable and enable particular forms of governmental intervention. The problematic effects of this regime of truth focused on 'vulnerable subjects' may become further complicated by the ways in which this knowledge is mobilised in the process of making political claims, as in the formulation of demands, certain subjects and forms of violence may receive privileged attention in relation to others (as already suggested in Ch. 5).

Gaining political leverage through 'vulnerability'

Authors like Ramos or Carrara, who partake in the promotion of the new regime of truth around LGBT people, are not unaware of the risks it brings with it, as has already been indicated. Ramos (2006) thus notes that carrying the banner of 'criminalising homophobia' bears the danger of "emphasising victimisation as a metaphor of the experience of 'being gay', 'being lesbian', etc., and of suggesting a 'regulation of sexual diversity'" (118). In a similar vein, in a text that discusses the articulation of activism with academic knowledge production, Ramos and Carrara (2006) point to the tension between "claiming respect, but not losing the LGBT irreverence and affirmation of sexuality; demanding the criminalisation of homophobia, but not the regulation of sexual diversity" (199). The fact that the authors advocate certain governmental manoeuvres despite their awareness of the problems this may summon suggests that they see the potential of such manoeuvres as going beyond the constitution of a new control regime. In fact, they conclude by commenting precisely on this potential:

Experiences of public security in which the affirmation of sexuality was combined with the demand for security and respect by police authorities (for example, the right to 'cruising' in an environment that is free and safe from extortion) can be indicators of the fact that it is possible 'to be victim' and 'be proud', in a creative and pro-active relation with the politics of public security. (200)

With this reference to gay cruising, the authors in fact provide a vivid example of how the very standards of public security can be re-articulated – even if, on other occasions, such efforts to combine an 'affirmation of sexuality' with the 'demand for security and respect' may not have been as successful.

Implicit in such an orientation towards the potential of the LGBT public security politics is a sense of their capacity to foster effective change. Governmental notions like 'vulnerability' may play an important role from this perspective, as the authors of a recent book on the history of the Brazilian 'homosexual' and 'LGBT' movements indicate. Discussing the HIV/AIDS politics engaged by the Brazilian LGBT movement, Júlio Assis Simões and Régina Facchini (2009) note that "[t]he concept of 'vulnerability', in articulating individual, social and programmatic dimensions, was an important lever for gaining greater support by civil society in the combat of AIDS" (133). This point also rings true with respect to public security politics. Partaking in the governmental play of interests by mobilising this notion has opened up new political opportunities. The political significance of LGBT activism in the field of public security has in part ensued from the synergies it has been able to create with wider endeavours of reform, as has been mentioned earlier. It has been repeatedly argued, in the context of the movement, for instance, that the focus on the hate crime law project (PLC 122/2006) has ensued from this relatively favourable discursive context, which has further been provided by engagements with human rights. The law project for civil partnerships, by

contrast, has been said to provoke stronger resistances on the part of conservative and religious forces, as it addresses the organisation of amorous same-gender relations more explicitly. In areas pertaining to public security and discrimination, homosexual and transgender issues thus started to be discussed on various political levels and scales. Moreover, activists have themselves been given a new political voice within different forums of the polity.

The framework of knowledge and practices that stages LGBT people as vulnerable and the state as guarantor of safety, then, has emerged not exclusively from an intensification and generalisation of a governmental regime of control, but also from ongoing activist struggles. On the one hand, current forms of intelligibility and governmental practice constituted through the LGBT public security politics summon various problematic issues, such as the staging of certain subjects as 'vulnerable', which entails particular forms of control and a framing of the law and the police as 'guarantors of safety'. On the other hand, however, governmental enactments around public security have, paradoxically, also opened up new political possibilities. For the LGBT movement, they have been important in gaining political leverage, visibility and resources. Moreover, they have opened a potential for creatively transforming conditions of violence and safety. Changes in police institutions and in the relationality of queer people and these institutions, as addressed for instance by Eduardo Soares, play an important role here. Although this has not been a focus of my research, the hate crime law project mentioned in the Interlude would also deserve further attention here, as the question arises to what extent it is possible to support such a law without adopting a 'punitive perspective' – which Ramos opposes. What has further contributed to the paradoxical dynamics at stake here is the fact that with the turn to governmental forms of advocacy, alternative kinds of enactment, as well as open dissidence, have not ceased to exist.

Political and academic enactments focused on 'vulnerable subjects' cannot easily account for emergent formations of agency as addressed in the present research, as they locate agency in the claiming and establishing of governmental protection and care, rather than in contingent subjective-spatial relations that unfold in a range of contexts. My present focus on *geborgenheit* works as an antidote to a narrow focus on 'vulnerability' as it aims to bring out affective dynamics that subsist within governmental as well as further kinds of enactment, forming a potential for agency that can be affirmed. The question on *geborgenheit*, however, is not meant to simply replace the regime of truth centred on 'vulnerability', as this regime itself opens up agentic potential. What is important is that such potential is not located exclusively in the provision of governmental care but rather emerges, in complex and paradoxical ways, from the political enactments that take shape around this regime of truth. This chapter has indicated some ways of engaging the agentic potential subsisting within this paradoxical field. The final part of the thesis continues this line of argument, extending the question of formations of agency, however, beyond LGBT activism.

PART IV EXPLORING FORMATIONS OF AGENCY AND CITIZENSHIP

Part III has discussed how activist engagements are shaped by biopolitical diagrams that produce effects of normalisation and subjectivation, yet paradoxically also open up agentic potential. Part IV pursues this line of argument further but uses cases from my empirical research to explore in more detail a number of concrete enactments of sameness and difference, both in the context of activism and beyond, juxtaposing the question of security as posed in governmental activism with the question of *geborgenheit*. This serves to bring out in a more nuanced way how formations of agency and citizenship emerge in paradoxical ways from diagrams of power and excessive affective dynamics as part of contingently unfolding subjective-spatial relations.

Chapter 7 provides an account of the research design. It highlights in particular the significance that a ‘folding together’ of research and analysis has played in the context of the two group workshops and discusses the role that the notion of *aconchego* has played here, which emerged during a workshop discussion. Chapter 8 then discusses how subjective-spatial relations emerging from intensities of *geborgenheit*, *aconchego* and other affective dynamics in the spatial context of Rio de Janeiro and Baixada Fluminense foster particular enactments of sameness and difference, thus mediating formations of agency and citizenship. Chapter 9 continues this discussion by folding the analysis of *geborgenheit/aconchego* back onto the question of paradoxical activist engagements in the field of public security. It considers a number of

enactments that emerge from biopolitical diagrams in the context of public security activism and juxtaposes them with enactments that exceed such diagrams, highlighting a number of intricate and paradoxical effects in the formation of agency and citizenship that arise from public security activism and affective dynamics of *geborgenheit*.

7. RESEARCH DESIGN: ENGAGING *ACONCHEGO* AND THE ANALYSIS OF EXPRESSIONS

As this research engages with formations of agency and citizenship that take shape in and across sites of activism and everyday life, a number of methods have been used and participants have included activists from different parts of Brazil, queer and straight denizens of Rio de Janeiro and Baixada Fluminense as well as police men. This chapter starts by providing an overview of the methods and research participants. It focuses in particular on two queer workshops on 'the experience of the city', which took place in Rio's *Centro* and in Nova Iguaçu in the Baixada Fluminense, and which created a space for a collective exploration of subjective-spatial relations.

The chapter then highlights how in the research process the concept of *geborgenheit* was articulated with the Portuguese notion of *aconchego*. *Aconchego* has a similar meaning as '*Geborgenheit*', signifying 'cosiness' or a state of comfortable embraced-ness, and turned out to be a useful tool for research participants in discussing positive subjective-spatial relations and the kinds of enactments facilitated by such relations. In its use during the workshop, this notion became a quasi-analytical tool, which means that participants' narratives themselves performed part of the analysis of subjective-spatial relations. Moreover, the intensification of and experimentation with *aconchego* became an integral aspect of the group workshops, which indicates that to an extent analysis and practical enactment went hand-in-hand.

A consideration of how *aconchego* was used helps in bringing out the role that in particular the group workshops played in relation to the analysis, namely in folding analytical movements into the empirical research process

itself. Such a form of folding together research and analysis forms part of a 'worldly' kind of research in Donna Haraway's sense, which entails going beyond using empirical material as 'examples' or 'illustrations' of a theoretical argument and instead being curious for and responsive to the contingent dynamics that emerge in the research process (see Ch. 1). In order to highlight how *aconchego* serves to develop further the present methodological in relation to the concrete issues at stake in this research, I will come back to Walter Benjamin's writings on cities. These writings indicate possibilities for pushing the more abstract level of analysis – as developed in Chapter 4 with reference to Deleuzian notions of 'affect' and 'affirmation' – further towards a decidedly 'worldly' kind of engagement.

The chapter ends with a characterisation of the mode of analysis used for engaging with diverse expressions. 'Analysing expressions' seems to be a useful term for naming this mode of analysis, as this research is not concerned with 'discourse' or 'narratives' alone, but rather with a range of verbal, textual, atmospheric and interactive 'expressions' that emerge from unfolding subjective-spatial relations.

An overview of methods: workshops, interviews and participation

The group workshops have played a key role in this research, as they provided rich material for discussing subjective-spatial relations with respect to queer people and LGBT activism in Rio de Janeiro. I will start my account of research methods by describing these workshops and then comment on further interviews and forms of participant observation. The workshops shaped the present argument significantly, as they created a space where

questions around *geborgenheit*, *aconchego* and security could be elaborated in detail on the basis of concrete activities and experiences.

Given the significance of this empirical work it might surprise that it has not featured more prominently in the thesis up to this point. However, this fourth part is not to be (mis)understood as *the* 'empirical' or 'analytical' part of the thesis. Parts I and III already contain empirical data in the form of historical accounts and secondary sources, which are analytically engaged through questions of power, paradoxes, governmentality, agency, and so forth. The following chapters continue this analytical engagement through a particular focus on subjective-spatial relations that unfold in concrete spatial and temporal context. Through this focus, the same set of questions is pursued further so as to elaborate on how formations of agency and citizenship take shape in practice in and beyond current LGBT activism. The plan for the thesis was thus to carry a set of analytical moves through different sites and contexts. In this light, limiting the presentation of workshop material to one part of the thesis was conducive to a clearer development of the overall argument and its presentation. (The use of the 'snapshot' between Chapters 3 and 4 served well to tie theoretical elaborations to concrete issues around subjective-spatial relations, queer people and formations of agency without already introducing workshop data.) In this context, it also needs to be taken into account that the workshops were not conceived of as straightforward instruments to 'produce data', but rather as creating a space that can at the same time be appropriated and joyfully inhabited by participants for their own purposes. Instead of deploying a great deal of the workshop material here (which future research can further explore), the workshops were thus meant to retain some autonomy in relation to this research, as will become clearer in what follows. This relative autonomy of the workshops at the same time gave

rise to interesting synergies, as participants developed their own approaches to issues raised by the research.

Two queer workshops on the experience of the city

The workshops were conducted in Rio's *Centro* and in Nova Iguaçu in the Baixada Fluminense region respectively. In the following, I will call them Workshop I (*Centro*) and Workshop II (Nova Iguaçu). Both workshops were entitled "Experience of the city – a workshop for lesbians, gays, 'travestis', transsexuals and bisexuals". They took place over the course of eight meetings in the case of Workshop I (between 18 Oct. and 3 Dec. 07) and six meetings in the case of Workshop II (2 Jul. – 6 Aug. 08) and lasted on average two to three hours. Recruitment of participants was achieved via distribution of flyers during LGBT events and group meetings in different parts of the metropolitan area of Rio de Janeiro, as well as via internet mailing-lists. In Workshop II, my contacts with *Grupo 28 de Junho*, an LGBT group based in Nova Iguaçu, played an important role, since members of this group assisted in inviting participants and finding the workshop location. All workshop sessions were audio-recorded. Some video-taping was used as well, although I decided not to include this in the analysis as this would have made the analysis too complex.

The idea as presented in the workshop invitations was to collectively explore ways in which people relate to city spaces in their everyday lives by means of a multiplicity of methods, including talk, maps, photos, diaries, theatre and video.¹¹³ A crucial aspect of the workshops was its emergent and open character, which also meant that – apart from an exclusion of under 16-

¹¹³ The flyers for Workshop 2 are reproduced in the Appendix. There was a longer and a shorter version of the invites to both workshops, with the aim to address both those interested in more information and those who might be put off by a wordy flyer.

year-olds for reasons of compliance with prevalent guidelines – no formal requirements had to be met for participating (no gender or sexual identity quota had been set, and the workshop invitation made it clear that heterosexuals interested in the topic were welcome as well). The workshops were designed to create a space where issues of relevance to the present research project could be explored and discussed in a collective way. Participants were not meant to simply furnish ‘data’ that I would subsequently analyse. Instead, by working on issues of relevance to this research, participants were meant to partake in the analysis itself – even if I retained a privileged role in conducting further subsequent analysis where I chose participants’ contributions and how to present them. As will be discussed later on, the suggestion of using the notion of *aconchego* in the workshops illustrates how an ‘analytical’ level was inserted into the workshop activities. Moreover, in offering a continuous and methodically open design, the workshops aimed to create a space of encounter and engagement that could acquire a meaning of its own, beyond the purpose of ‘research’ for the PhD project. They were conceptualised so as to enable participants to partake in the structuring of activities and thus to also use the workshops for their own purposes. The question of ‘geborgenheit’, which formed part of the overall topic of the workshops, also played an important role with respect to the workshop activities. A central aim was to collectively create a space that people could joyfully inhabit, open up to and feel comfortably nested in – a space that fosters affective dynamics of ‘becoming’ in Deleuze’s sense, where bodies intensify their agentic potential (see Ch. 4). I will come back to this reappearance of ‘geborgenheit’ on the level of the workshops.

While the overall objective and methodology of the workshops had been worked out in advance, the contents and activities for the different sessions were elaborated during their course. For each session I chose a

thematic focus and a set of (potential) methods, leaving space for alternatives and changes during the workshop sessions. As Workshop I went on, a series of seven topics crystallised, one forming the focus for each session. The first session (18 Oct.) also included introductory activities and explanations, and in the final session (3 Dec.) we looked at and discussed some of the material that had been produced. There was a further, informal session, where we watched video footage made during the workshops. The topics, in their chronological order, were:

- Thresholds and transitions (18 Oct.)
- Places of *geborgenheit* (22 Oct.)
- Places of fear (29 Oct.)
- Fear and memories (5 Nov.)
- Subjective territorialities (16 Nov.)
- Erotic geographies (19 Nov.)
- Security *dispositifs* (26 Nov.)

Some of these topics may sound quite demanding, yet these topics were introduced in ways that sought to enable a practical understanding (which will be further illustrated below). Moreover, while the notions of 'territoriality' and '*dispositif*' have specific connotations relating to the ways in which Deleuze and Guattari (1980/20004) and Foucault (e.g. 1976/1998) use them, the Portuguese equivalents (*territorialidade* and *dispositivo*) are common words used in everyday language. *Território* and *territorialidade* are used similarly as the English 'place' (see Haesbaert forthcoming), and *dispositivo* is used in the sense of 'mechanism', 'gadget', 'device', 'provision' (also 'security operation' in the case of '*dispositivo de segurança*'; Ramires et al. 2006).

Workshop II built on the topics and methods that emerged in relation to the first series, starting out, however, with a focus on 'places with a special

meaning' and 'queer places' and leaving out the focus on 'memories', since there were less meetings than in Workshop I. Moreover, the question of 'geborgenheit', which had been explicitly discussed in the second session of Workshop I, was replaced by the question of *aconchego*. The following topics provided the foci for the individual sessions, with the first session again starting with introductory activities and explanations:

- Places with a special meaning and queer places (2 Jul.)
- Places of *aconchego* (9 Jul.)
- Fear, violence and exclusion (16 Jul.)
- Subjective territories (23 Jul.)
- Erotic territories and security *dispositifs* (30 Jul.)

On 6 August 08, a final session took place, where we watched video footage made during the sessions. In both workshop series, participants were encouraged to work on each of the topics in the time between the sessions, using diaries, recordings or taking pictures. As a result, in each session (after the first ones), some of the material participants had produced was being presented so that previous thematic foci reappeared. Several of the methods used were developed especially for the workshops or adapted to them. Some of these methods will be explicitly addressed later on, such as map activities, diaries and theatre methods. Developing and using these methods was in itself a challenging process that provided interesting insights.

An important aspect in the conception of the workshops was to find spaces that could be used specifically for these workshops, rather than to conduct them within given institutional structures of LGBT NGOs. The reasons were, firstly, to remain independent of the particular objectives and interests of such NGOs, and, secondly, to foster a sense of a newly constituted space that could be inhabited in ways developed during the workshops. An

effect of this arrangement was that it fostered the sharing of the responsibility for the workshop, concerning the contribution of ideas and methods as well as the invitation of people and who enters or leaves the room – although I had a special responsibility for supervising the whole process. This also meant that no strict rules were imposed regarding who is allowed to enter the room at what time. Right from the first session of Workshop I, some people who had registered came in the company of a friend that had not registered, and others appeared that had themselves not registered. Doors were kept open, and sometimes friends of participants dropped by, participating or not in a session for the remaining time where this seemed appropriate.

Apart from the somewhat fluid group structure resulting from the workshops' open character, there was some fluctuation in participation that was related in many cases to participants' other commitments. Altogether, 16 people participated in Workshop I, 12 gay men, 1 lesbian and 3 heterosexual women – although these categories can only provide a rough idea, as people were not asked to classify their identifications, and their actual sexual and gendered practices might be more diverse. (This tentative use of identity categories also needs to be borne in mind in my references to workshop participants in what follows.) Ages ranged from 16 to the mid 50s, with most participants aged 30 to 50. At each session, three to eight people participated, with five participants (four gay men and one lesbian woman) continuously attending most of the sessions. The high share of gay men was probably related to myself (a gay man) being the workshop convenor. Besides, gay men tend to have a higher degree of visible socialisation in Rio de Janeiro than lesbian women (which is also related to economic privilege) and mostly form the majority in mixed LGBT groups. Several trans people signalled interest in the workshop, however without actually participating, which was in part related

to basic time constraints faced in particular by trans people. (Travel costs were reimbursed if participants so wished.)

Workshop II was characterised by a somewhat higher degree of fluctuation. 27 people participated altogether, 19 gay men and 3 trans, 4 lesbian and 1 heterosexual women. Again, this categorisation is very rough. Participant numbers at each session ranged from 7 to 14, with 8 people (7 gay men, 1 trans woman) participating in most or all of the sessions. There was however a relatively high share of trans women, given their much smaller number in comparison to the gay male population. It might be noteworthy in this context that one trans woman was not able to continue participating as she left the area after being threatened in her home environment. While the reasons for this threat remained unclear (at least to me), this incident gives an indication of the precarious situation in which especially some trans people live in the Baixada Fluminense region.

Participants in both workshops came from a range of social and economic backgrounds, although most had low incomes (if at all). Workshop I participants lived in working and lower middle-class neighbourhoods in the northern, western and central parts of the city of Rio de Janeiro. Workshop II participants lived mostly in poorer areas of Nova Iguaçu and further cities and villages in the area. In general, they had a lower income than Workshop I participants, which was indicated by the higher share of participants asking for travel reimbursement. As regards racial composition, most participants of both workshops could be classified as *pardo* ('Brown', i.e. 'mixed race'), although, again, no self-identification was asked for. One participant of Workshop I and around a third of Workshop II participants could be classified as *negro* (Black). The generally lower economic status of Workshop II participants thus coincided with a higher share of *negros* (although *negros* were not necessarily

among the poorest). In both workshops, I was the only unambiguously 'white' person.

While the workshop sessions provided the basis for research activities, socialisation and so on, these activities and forms of relationality extended far beyond the sessions. Several participants wrote diaries and poems or took photos outside the sessions. In some cases these activities acquired a meaning beyond the workshops, as participants continued them for their own purposes. There was even a case where a participant, who was in the process of writing a theatre play in the context of an HIV/AIDS organisation used diary entries of another participant for the plot of his play. I also conducted interviews some interviews with participants outside the workshops, and got introduced to participants' friends for the purpose of conversations and conducting interviews. In the following chapters, I will repeatedly refer in particular to one such conversation that took place in a village outside Nova Iguaçu, where two Workshop II participants and I visited an activist and friend of one of them. Some participants developed friendships they would continue after the workshops. I myself became friends with several participants and during subsequent stays in Rio de Janeiro organised meetings with participants from both workshops.

An open and emergent character as well as social networks and friendships were thus constitutive aspects of the workshops. At the same time, there were a number of challenges resulting for instance from the difficulty to prepare sessions without knowing exactly who would participate, or from difficulties in finding adequate workshop spaces. Moreover, my own position as white, European, not local, and not a native speaker, in combination with the little knowledge I had in many cases of participants' lives, introduced uncertainties regarding participants' expectations. Quite tellingly, for instance, towards the end of the first session of Workshop II, when I asked participants

about ideas and suggestions around topics and activities for the workshop, a participant replied by saying that he had come to hear me talk and to learn new things from me. His knowledge about me writing a PhD in England seemed to have created a particular expectation around the workshop. During the course of the workshops, such expectations tended to change. Especially when people talked about particular places and events, it became clear that in many ways expertise regarding the topics of the workshop was distributed among the participants themselves, and as researcher I was in the position of a facilitator of a collective process. Moreover, participants themselves facilitated certain activities and partook in the moderation of the sessions. The mentioned incidents nonetheless illustrate the intricate group dynamics that were at play and their often unexpected effects.

What seemed to create a sense of commonality despite the mentioned differences in my position as white and European was, firstly, the fact that I was more or less fluent in Portuguese and, secondly the facts that I was gay, had experiences in LGBT activism and had specific knowledge of Brazil, Rio de Janeiro and local LGBT politics. In both workshops, I felt a sense of solidarity among participants, a sense of exploring more or less common experiences and of creating a space of queer sociability where certain things can be expressed more openly than in other, more heteronormative, contexts.

Apart from the two main workshops, I conducted two one-off workshops in the context of ordinary meetings of LGBT groups, one at Grupo Arco-Íris, which was then based in Rio's Tijuca district (4 May 2007), and one at Grupo Atobá in Realengo in Rio's West Zone (2 December 2007). While the session at Grupo Arco-Íris served mainly as a pilot for the two main workshops, the session at Grupo Atobá served to address specifically people and spaces in Rio's West Zone. A participant from Workshop I, who also lived in the West Zone, accompanied me to the meeting and helped facilitating the

session. While I will not include the Grupo Atobá session in this thesis for reasons of space, I will come back to the Grupo Arco-Íris session in Chapter 9.

Interviews and participant observation

The workshops were complemented by interviews with 15 activists from the city of Rio de Janeiro (8), Baixada Fluminense (2), Salvador da Bahia (1), Belo Horizonte (1), Curitiba (2), and Porto Alegre (1); interviews with 5 civil and military police men; and an interview with the director of a private security firm from Rio. Moreover, I participated in political conferences such as the 1st National Seminar on Public Security and Combating Homophobia (Rio de Janeiro, April 2007) and the 1st National LGBT Conference (Brasília, June 2008); in meetings of working groups on LGBT public security in Rio de Janeiro; and in events like LGBT parades, carnival parties and further events, and in some cases also in their preparation.

Both interviews and the participation in events served to provide insights around agentic formations that emerge in the context of LGBT public security activism and beyond. The focus was on what political and practical possibilities, but also what challenges and problems arise from particular activist engagements. Moreover, as activists also spoke about their experiences that did not immediately relate to LGBT activism, the interviews also provided insights around particular subjective-spatial relations. Both aspects were also interrelated in activists' narratives, as in talking about public security politics activists drew on their wider experience, and in discussing relations to spaces they drew on their experiences as activists. Chapter 9 makes explicit use of activist narratives. The participation in events organised by Rio's or the national LGBT movement provided insights not only about how public

security politics are being debated and engaged, but also about further dynamics unfolding, sometimes in paradoxical ways, through these events and engagement. Such dynamics pertain in particular to enactments of sameness and difference, such as enactments of solidarity, agonistic struggle, or pleasurable transgression. Again, Chapter 9 will discuss the relations between activist engagements and such enactments emerging in their context.

The interviews were conducted as semi-structured narrative interviews, following a technique derived from Witzel (1982). Participant observations were informed by ethnographic approaches that place an emphasis on the researcher being receptive to unfolding events and re-negotiating their own existing assumptions in the process.¹¹⁴ On a practical level, this means, for instance, that notes and recordings of a multiplicity of potentially relevant issues are being made, multiple types of data are being collected and both verbal and non-verbal expressions are being recorded. As research and analysis unfold, such multiple data and recordings can then be set in connection or further textualised.¹¹⁵ In participating in events, however, I did not conceive of myself as a mere observer, but considered my own position and engagements as playing an integral part of the research process and to an extent also of the events in which I participated.¹¹⁶

This also relates to the more general 'worldly' approach of this research as a whole. The various 'events', 'fields' or 'sites' have not been understood as pre-existing homogeneous and marked off systems of practices and meanings which are then entered by the researcher, as some versions of ethnographic research insinuate (for critical discussions see Katz 1994; Marcus 1995).

¹¹⁴ For discussions of ethnographic methodology see Clifford and Marcus (1986); Atkinson 2001, Emerson, Fretz et al. (2000).

¹¹⁵ On the process of textualisation see in particular Emerson, Fretz et al. (2000). In some cases it may however be useful not to concern oneself with making recordings or notes in order to get involved in the unfolding events.

¹¹⁶ On the significance of the researcher's position and involvement in the research process see for instance Haraway (1991), England (1994).

Instead, along the lines of George Marcus' (1995) discussion of 'multi-sited ethnographies' the participant observations and the research as a whole have been conceived as being concerned with "emergent object[s] of study whose contours, sites, and relationships are not known beforehand" and that are "mobile and multiply situated" (102).

Folding together research and analysis

I want to come back now to the workshops in order to discuss further the integral role they played in 'folding together' research and analysis. As will be further discussed subsequently, such 'folding' enabled a further 'becoming-worldly' of the analysis, as the concepts and analytical questions of this research were developed further in the very context and process of research. More specifically, the question of *geborgenheit*, which has been an integral issue of the analysis and the research as a whole, re-appeared on the practical level of the workshops. Firstly, creating *geborgenheit* in the workshops was seen as fostering the collective process of research and experimentation; and, secondly, this collective process was seen as performing part of the analysis itself, since participants discussed and interpreted their own subjective-spatial relations. Workshop activities and analysis were thus to an extent folded together, giving rise to synergies between these two levels.

In order to enable the analytical moment to become effective on the level of the workshops, it seemed useful to introduce some of the questions of this research in a practical way, including the analytical concepts being used. In particular, the question of 'geborgenheit' needed to be addressed in a way that enabled participants to relate to it and possibly rearticulate it. An important instant of this was the introduction of the topic of 'geborgenheit' in the second

session of Workshop I. During this session, the notion of *aconchego* emerged as a useful term, which would subsequently be mobilised by participants in a range of contexts and activities related to the workshops. This notion, and its collective introduction during the research process, made it possible to rearticulate and re-locate ‘geborgenheit’ in relation to the contexts addressed in this research. This rearticulation did however not simply mean discarding ‘geborgenheit’, which has become a central concept of this research. Rather, it meant to make use of its character of what I have called a ‘transitory concept’ that, instead of setting up and clinging to a fixed set of issues and questions, serves to open up a particular kind of engagement (with subjective-spatial relations, capacities of joyfully nesting within a space, etc.) and in this process of engagement can itself be re-signified and give rise to different kinds of engagement – thus enabling a ‘transition’ to novel forms of engagement and interaction (see Ch. 1 and 3). While the meaning of *aconchego* is resonant with ‘*Geborgenheit*’, the use of this term in the workshops introduced some semantic nuances, and in the workshop activities, the questions around ‘nesting in a space’ were articulated with issues around ‘transgression’, ‘care’ or joyful excitement. Chapter 8 introduces a series of enactments that were thus invoked in the context of the workshops. Here, I want to provide an account of the session where ‘*aconchego*’ emerged as a term used during the workshops in order to make it clearer how the mentioned folding of the analysis into the workshop activities happened. I will then discuss a particular case where *aconchego* was used in order to bring out the role that the notion came to play in the workshops and in this research as a whole. The following discussion will also have the useful side-effect of providing a better sense of the workshop sessions themselves.

Re-locating geborgenheit: the turn to aconchego

The second session of 'Workshop I' started with a map activity where everybody (including myself) was asked to attach coloured stickers for places of 'comfort and shelter' (*conforto e acolhimento*) on a big map of the city of Rio de Janeiro. '*Acolhimento*' has a slightly broader meaning than 'shelter', as it derives from the verb '*acolher*', which means 'to welcome', 'to shelter', 'to accept' (Ramires et al. 2006). '*Acolhimento*' thus signifies a state of being welcome, well-received, cared-for and sheltered. I had chosen this word in addition to *conforto* as its semantics seemed to resonate with *Geborgenheit* in that both indicate a relation between a state of well-being and a spatiality creating this state. *Acolhimento* thus seemed useful in introducing the question of *geborgenheit* in this Portuguese-language context. As we will see shortly, participants preferred the word '*aconchego*' over '*acolhimento*'. I want to briefly describe the activities that lead up to the discussion around *aconchego* in order to provide a better sense of how the issue of *geborgenheit* was practically introduced and thus 'folded into' the workshop.

After participants had put stickers on the map, each of them briefly commented on why they had placed the sticker on which point on the map. This activity already fostered what could be called a kind of 'geborgenheit talk', where people discussed where, why and how they came to joyfully inhabit spaces. Besides, this activity was meant to enable participants to start getting to know each other and to serve as an easy way for them to gain access to the topic of the workshop. After the map activity, I facilitated a short warm-up to theatre methods and then introduced a theatre activity in order to elaborate further on the topic of the session. This was a variation of Augusto Boal's

(1998/2007)¹¹⁷ sculpture method, where one person is a 'sculptor' and some others serve as the 'material' that the sculptor 'models', however without speaking and without touching the 'material', only making guiding gestures with her or his hands. In my variation, a participant willing to be a sculptor was asked to form a sculpture of '*acolhimento*' out of four further participants. After a sculpture had been completed, the sculptor took the position of one of the 'elements', which in turn became the sculptor of a new piece. The onlookers commented on each completed sculpture, and on some occasions I asked the 'elements' to comment on their own position in the sculpture. All sculptures were variations of one person being embraced or sheltered by other persons, who formed a roof or protected the sheltered one's head. On one occasion, one of the observers associated a religious scene, on another occasion another one associated a scene from a film by Italian director Federico Fellini. One of the effects of this method was that discussions of different aspects of sheltering and being sheltered took place. Moreover, this method was meant to enable an access to the session's topic on a bodily level of experience, exceeding verbal conversations. While the concrete processes involved here were not analysed in any detail, such a diversification of forms of interaction proved useful in addressing participants with different capacities of verbal and bodily expression. To an extent, the aim was also to find ways of making the sessions enjoyable and to thus enable forms of *geborgenheit* to unfold in the workshop itself. What was central, however, was how participants became involved with and re-shaped the issues and activities that I had introduced and that they introduced themselves as the workshop unfolded.

¹¹⁷ The Brazilian Augusto Boal (1931-2009) developed a methodology called Theatre of the Oppressed (*Teatro do Oprimido*) in order to enable people to experience, experiment with and find solutions to forms of inequality and oppression through theatre. The first publication explicating the term *Teatro do Oprimido* is Boal's (1975/2005) *Teatro do oprimido e outras poéticas políticas* (for a key English text see Boal 1979).

After the topic of *acolhimento* had already been engaged with through the map and theatre activities, I introduced this topic more explicitly as a potentially significant theme of the workshop:¹¹⁸

Simon: So last time, the topic had to do with transitions and forms of transition. And today, we are going to talk a bit about this topic of comfort and shelter [*acolhimento*]. Because in German there is a word that I use a lot, that doesn't exist in Portuguese, I will write it down for you. Because I am still looking for words to describe it. You have to help me a bit, what this... [*writing*]

Arturo: Ah, '*Geborgenheit*'.

Simon: That's it, '*Geborgenheit*'. It is often translated as 'security' [*segurança*], but it's not really 'security', it's more a positive feeling, like more a mixture between '*aconchego*'¹¹⁹, 'comfort' [*conforto*], and... 'to be accepted' and also has to do with 'shelter' [*acolhimento*], in the sense of 'a place where you are safe'. That's why it is often translated as 'security'. ((Arturo: mhm)) And I find this concept very interesting, I am working with it a lot, but I would like to know – the word '*acolhimento*', what meaning does it have for you? Because you earlier you asked, in what sense... earlier, you... (p)

Arturo: I think '*Geborgenheit*' would be more like '*aconchego*' ((Simon: '*aconchego*')), '*aconchego*' than 'security'. But, obviously, there are

¹¹⁸ The following transcription rules have been used:

- Pauses of three or more seconds are marked with '(p)'
- Where two or more people speak simultaneously, the talk of the second or further speaker is bracketed with '['']
- Where a person makes a minimal comment or insertion, such as 'yes' or 'hmm', this is bracketed with '(())'
- Where a person's talk is interrupted, this is marked by '='
- Rising intonation is marked with '?'

¹¹⁹ The Portuguese word '*aconchego*' cannot easily be translated. A fuller explanation is provided below.

several... it depends on the context. Because a place of

aconchego=

Simon: Hi,

Sônia: *Hello!*

Simon: come in

Arturo: Because a place of *aconchego*=

(): ()

Simon: This [chair] is for you!

I quoted this passage in full, as it brings out the particular atmosphere created by people sometimes entering the room in the middle of conversations. I have also left interruptions (marked by “=”) and unintelligible passages (“()”), which indicate the peculiarities involved in dealing with workshop material, where participants frequently speak at the same time or at a distance from the microphone.

While I do not wish to provide a discursive analysis of the above passage, it highlights how the words that can be used to address relations of comfort, shelter, being accepted and being safe and secure were discussed in the workshop. It illustrates the process of collectively finding a vocabulary to be used in the workshop. I suggest the Portuguese term ‘*acolhimento*’, which signifies being sheltered and also well-received, welcome, cared-for. While this resonates with the meaning of ‘*Geborgenheit*’, Arturo (who speaks some German) and Rogério prefer ‘*aconchego*’, which I also mention as I describe *Geborgenheit*. A difference between *acolhimento* and *aconchego* is that the latter word evokes a more pronouncedly spatial sense of cosiness, cuddle or being nested, which can be illustrated by a consideration of its etymology. The noun ‘*aconchego*’ derives from the verb ‘*aconchegar*’, which means ‘to put/turn close to (someone/sth.); embrace; wrap/cover (oneself/someone/sth.) in; make more comfortable’ (being related to Latin ‘*applicare*’; Houaiss 2001). Accordingly,

'*aconchego*' is a state of comfortable embraced-ness, which in fact resonates strongly with '*Geborgenheit*', although the sense of 'cosiness' seems slightly more pronounced in the case of *aconchego*.

Continuing from the passage quoted above, a further participant, Vinícius, remarks that '*segurança*', which as I had noted is used in translations of *Geborgenheit*, can also resonate, namely in the sense of 'to feel secure'. Arturo, however, points to a difference between *segurança* and *aconchego*, making an argument that is similar to what has been said on the difference between 'security' and *Geborgenheit* in Chapter 3. Rogério, another participant, agrees with Arturo.

Vinícius: I think 'security' fits, because you feel secure [*você se sente seguro*].

[(): ()]

Vinícius: Security, you... ..

Arturo: It [*aconchego*] is like you feel accepted, you feel received [*acolhido*], you feel comfortable. Because 'security' doesn't always imply comfort, you are safe [*seguro*], but you are not comfortable. So '*aconchego*' would be closer, it even would include the idea of security and also of comfort, of personal comfort, an emotional comfort ((Simon: aha))

Rogério: I agree that 'security'... often, for you to have security you often have restrictions,

[Arturo: Often, you're uncomfortable, really.]

Rogério: it doesn't imply comfort. For me, it's '*aconchego*' as well...

This conversation provides an example for the collective folding of research questions into the group process. The suggestion to use *aconchego* turned out to be very valuable as for participants this term seemed to be more evocative regarding issues of joyfully inhabiting and nesting within a space. While

semantic differences between *aconchego* and *acolhimento* are subtle and Portuguese dictionaries use cross-references between both words in the respective explanations, *acolhimento* tends to be used in contexts like for instance social welfare and services, in the sense of meeting people's specific needs in areas of health or education. *Acolhimento* in this sense invokes subjects with a particular need of being sheltered or cared-for. *Aconchego*, on the other hand, is more strongly evocative of the sense of comfortable cosiness, sheltered-ness or nested-ness itself and the spatiality creating or enabling this sense. It is thus a notion that addresses feelings and affective relations more directly. Similarly to *Geborgenheit*, then, *aconchego* can be particularly useful for indicating intense subjective-spatial relations; it can serve as a kind of linguistic 'detector' for tracking down where and how such intense relations come into being.

Aconchego is not simply a translation of *Geborgenheit* but introduces new semantic nuances. In fact, dictionaries tend to use other words like '*Behaglichkeit*' or '*Gemütlichkeit*' to translate *aconchego*. English dictionaries use 'cosiness' or 'cuddle' for *aconchego*, whereas they use 'security' for *Geborgenheit*. Moreover, while these various words share some semantic similarities, they are no direct equivalents. Along the lines of my earlier discussion of *Geborgenheit*, each of these German and Portuguese (and English) terms could be considered in relation to its prevalent contexts of use, and what kinds of meanings these words have acquired in relation to different times and spaces. What is most important in the present context, however, are the particular resonances *aconchego* had for my participants and how *aconchego* enabled a folding of the analytical questions around *geborgenheit* into the research process.

The word was recurrently mobilised during both workshops, enabling a practical means of engaging, and further developing, the question of *geborgenheit* in the concrete context of research. This focus on *aconchego*, however, also needs to be seen in the context of the workshop as a whole,

which addressed a range of further issues and was designed to enable a variety of ways for engaging with experiences of city spaces. It seemed important not to limit engagements to issues around *geborgenheit* and *aconchego*, but rather to open up an experimental space around these as well as further issues of potential relevance to participants. The first session had purposefully started out with asking about ‘places with a special meaning’, leaving it to participants themselves how to conceive of this ‘special meaning’. The focus on *geborgenheit* was then introduced so as to find out more about its practical relevance both in relation to spatial experience and as an analytical concept. The notion of *aconchego* turned out to be particularly useful in fostering a practical elaboration of the question of *geborgenheit*, which was indicated not only by the ways in which the term inspired various engagements during the workshop, but also by the fact that it was used spontaneously where it had not been explicitly introduced. Similarly to *geborgenheit*, however, *aconchego* was not meant to become a normative or prescriptive term in this research, so it was left to participants to what extent they wanted to make use of this notion or engage with other terms and issues.

When I presented my work on *aconchego* in a colloquium in Berlin, a Brazilian anthropologist who was among the participants pointed out that *aconchego* tends to be associated with the private or domestic sphere, and that this might introduce a bias to the analysis. Her remark is interesting, as – similar to how I have approached *Geborgenheit* in Chapter 3 – it is useful to have an understanding of prevalent semantics and associations. However, similarly to my attempt to go beyond prevalent associations of *Geborgenheit*, I consider it possible to mobilise the affective intensities of *aconchego* in a range of contexts beyond apparently prevalent ones. Similar to *Geborgenheit*, *aconchego* seems to lend itself well to such a manoeuvre, as it is not as clearly associated with a particular spatiality as for instance ‘home’. I do not wish, however, to go into

the history of use of *aconchego* here. Instead, in order to provide a sense of the resonances *aconchego* had for my participants I now want to provide a concrete case of how the word was mobilised. This brings out well the word's relative openness with respect to various contexts as well as its evocate capacities that can be used for exploring subjective-spatial relations.

Aconchego in action

An appealing example of the mobilisation of '*aconchego*' is provided by a poem that a participant wrote after getting inspiration from the workshop session on *geborgenheit/conforto/ acolhimento/ aconchego*. This poem, which he (Marcello) presented in the third session, brings out the term's various semantic resonances as well as how it can inspire an engagement with subjects' relations to city and other spaces. I have provided a rather direct (a-poetic) translation, leaving untranslated the noun '*aconchego*' and the diverse verb forms of '*aconchegar*' (abbreviated here with '*a.*'). For all other grammatical forms I have added English equivalents (such as '-ing' or '-able'). The poem's rhymes and rhythms, as well as several verbal subtleties, can only be sensed in the original, Portuguese, version (note for example the rhymes in the original verse endings – “cobertor” and “redentor”, “Barão” and “varão”, etc.).

O ACONCHEGO

Estou de volta pro meu aconchego...

Aconchegadamente aconchegável

Aconchegando-se no aconchegante aconchego.

No aconchego do meu cobertor,
Do meu redentor,
No aconchego de um Barão
Ou de qualquer outro "varão".

No aconchego do lar,
Permissão pra te amar.
No aconchego do amor,
Sinto no peito o ardor.

Aconchego na nuca?
Que coisa maluca!

Aconchego no mar,
Aconchego no bar,
Aconchego na rua,
Aconchego na lua!

Aconchego no mato...
Aconchego de fato!

Eu aconchego
Tu aconchegas
Ele aconchega

Ora, veja!
Aconchego sabor cereja,
Sabor de menta e até pimental.

Que tal semear?
Aconchego é o que vamos plantar!

Pegue a semente
E aconchegue com a gente..
Vamos, tente.
Aconchegue um parente!

Continuando a conjugação,
Entro em ação.
Colhendo a semente
Transformada em gente.

Abra a mente
E siga em frente,
Plante na "cuca"
E banque @maluc@!

Acorde bem cedo
E espalhe sem medo
Todo o sossego
De um bom aconchego!

(Texto escrito para um trabalho sobre "aconchego" num grupo focal que participo, coordenado por meu amigo Simon Hulla)

I am back for my a. ...

A.ingly a.able!

A.ing oneself in a.y a.

In the a. of my blanket,
Of my redeemer,
In the a. of a Baron,
Or of any other "man".

In the a. of home,
Permission to love you,
In the a. of love,
I feel in my breast the ardour..

A. In the neck?
What a crazy thing!

A. In the sea,
A. in the bar,
A. in the street,
A. In the moon!

A. In the wood...
A. in fact!

I a.
You a.
He a.

Check this out!
A. with cherry flavour,
Flavour of mint and even pepper!

How about sowing?
A. is what we are going to plant!

Take the seed
And a. with us.
Come on, try.
A. someone close to you!

Continuing the conjunction,
I am going into action,
Gathering the seed
That is transformed into people.

Open your mind
And go ahead,
Plant in the brains
And act crazy!

Wake up quite early
And spread without fear
All the calmness and peace
Of a good a.!

(Text written for a work on "aconchego" in a focus group that I participate in, coordinated by my friend Simon Hulla)

As Marcello presents the poem in the workshop, an air of his enthusiasm about writing poetry expresses itself through the way in which he recites it and comments on the process of writing. This is, however, difficult to convey through this transcript, as this enthusiasm is expressed to a great extent through the sound of his voice. This sense of enthusiasm also introduces a particular atmosphere in the workshop, as participants seem to listen attentively, and, after Marcello finishes, applaud and cheer. The first line of the poem is a citation from the popular Brazilian song 'De volta pro Aconchego' by

Dominguinhos and Nando Cordel, made famous by singer Elba Ramalho in 1985. The expression '*meu aconchego*' used in this poem can mean something like 'my home',¹²⁰ although in this context it does not exclusively refer to a particular spatiality of 'home'. The association of the song is shared by several participants, as indicated by the comments following Marcello's recital in the third session of Workshop I:

Paula: Very good! ((*applause*)) (excellent!)

Alexandre: You like Elba Ramalho, don't you?

Marcello: No=

[Paula: Yes! I remembered this music=]

Alexandre: (At once! I thought he was going to sing=)

A bit later, Arturo explains to participants who had not been at the previous session that the discussion around *acolhimento*, *conforto* and the German word '*Geborgenheit*' had circulated around '*aconchego*', which evoked particular associations:

Arturo: So we thought this was *aconchego*. And everybody remembered the song ((Felipe, (): Yes!)), everybody remembered the song...

In the first line of the poem, Marcello thus picks up and elaborates an association that several participants shared – although this was not made explicit before, and I became aware of the word's inherent musicality only as it got discussed here. This association is significant in that it introduces a rhythmic and harmonic element – related to the way in which the line "*Estou de volta pro meu aconchego*" is sung – that lends itself well for poetic experimentation. This poetic use of *aconchego* can be regarded as an instant of how the word's particular affective intensity is being mobilised in the context of the workshop, an issue that I will come back to later on.

¹²⁰ The expression '*meu aconchego*' is common in Portuguese and features for example in the poem '*Toada de Portalegre*' by Portuguese poet José Régio.

The experimental activity of writing the poem itself expresses a playful use of *aconchego* in various contexts beyond what may be its historically prevalent contexts of use. Taking inspiration from Ramalho's singing, Marcello's poem goes back and forth between linguistic experimentation and vivid evocations of spaces, relations and practices. A peculiarity of '*aconchego*' is that it comes in various grammatical forms. There is the noun '*aconchego*', the adjective '*aconchegante*', and the transitive verb '*aconchegar*', from which the first two forms derive. As any other verb, '*aconchegar*' can also serve as the basis of further verb forms, like the participle '*aconchegando*' or the (less common) adjective '*aconchegável*' ('-able'). In his poem, Marcello plays with the diverse grammatical forms and semantic connotations of '*aconchego*' and '*aconchegar*' and, in doing so, enacts experiences and fantasies of *aconchego*. The poem starts with "*Estou de volta pro meu aconchego...*", and what "*meu aconchego*" can mean is subsequently elaborated, first on a linguistic level – indulging, as it were, in the comforting sounds evoked by the verbal redundancies "*aconchegadamente aconchegável*", "*aconchegante aconchego*" etc. – and then on further spatial, relational, agentic, atmospheric levels.

There is the homely *aconchego* provided by the "blanket", an object that covers and gives warmth and can thereby elicit a sense of warmth, comfort or snugness. As in the case of Linus in Charles Schulz's *Peanuts* comic strip, the blanket may even get carried around so as to make the subject feel geborgen outside the bed or homely context. Object relations psychoanalyst Donald Winnicott (1971) has coined the term 'transitional objects' for such things as Linus' famous 'security blanket', which, in his view enable children to open up towards the world beyond the beloved 'object' of the mother. The homely and more-than-homely *aconchego* of the blanket is juxtaposed with "*meu redentor*", the 'redeemer', which is also the name of the Christ statue on Rio's Corcovado mountain. An *aconchegável* intimacy is thus evoked that stretches from the own

bed to Corcovado (or wherever the ‘redeemer’ may reside). The reference to the statue itself is evocative of various issues. Apart from the sense of *aconchego* that may ensue from the visual appearance of the enormous Christ figure with extended arms standing above (parts of) the city, the statue – and the term ‘*meu redentor*’ – have strong religious connotations. Moreover, the statue, which in 2007 was elected one the ‘New Seven Wonders of the World’,¹²¹ has been intimately linked with the image of Rio de Janeiro as *Cidade Maravilhosa*, ‘Wonderful City’ (see Ch. 2). *Aconchego* can further be provided by the noble “Baron” or, in fact, any other “man” (“*varão*” can have connotations of brave virility as well as respectability). These formulations introduce a pronouncedly erotic component. “Home” is a place of *aconchego*, where loving seems to be allowed, and love itself brings with it an ‘ardent’ kind of *aconchego*. The poem goes on to imagine various places of *aconchego*, from the neck to the street, the woods and the moon, and also different flavours. When Marcello recites the poem in the workshop, the line on “cherry flavour” is one of those eliciting laughter, presumably due to its sexual connotations (for instance relating to condom flavours). The poem ends by announcing the collective activity of ‘*aconcheging*’ – a ‘crazy’ and ‘mind-opening’ activity of planting *aconchego* by disseminating a ‘seed that is transformed into people’, thus bringing about “All the calmness and peace | Of a good *aconchego*!”.

The word’s specific intensity has to do with a sense of cosiness or comfortable embraced- or nested-ness. Moreover, it has musical resonances that relate to the formulation ‘*Estou de volta pro meu aconchego*’. Marcello’s poem is framed by the invocation of these intensities in the first verse that cites Ramalho’s song and the final lines that address “*Todo o sossego | De um bom aconchego!*”. The first part, moreover, indulges in the word’s intensities by

¹²¹ See http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/New_Seven_Wonders_of_the_World, accessed on 5. July 2009.

playing with its various grammatical forms, making use of its sound that comes to resonate with its meaning. These intensities can be understood as 'virtual' dynamics in Deleuze's sense that constitute a particular capacity of affecting and being affected (cf. Ch. 4). The 'affect' of *aconchego*, so to speak, consists in its power to evoke a particular set of semantic resonances. These 'virtual' dynamics are as yet unformed and undetermined with respect to concrete images or contexts of use, and, as the poem unfolds are 'actualised' in various different ways and context, pertaining to 'home', 'street', 'religion' or 'love', as well as to forms of relating and 'acting crazy'. The word's particular resonances are thus highly productive in evoking a number of intense images and activities of *aconchego*. These are precisely the resonances that allow the word to be articulated with the issue of *geborgenheit*.

The poem's indulgence in the sonic, semantic and imaginary resonances of *aconchego* is characterised by a remarkable, and almost paradoxical, absence of ambiguities. 'Home' is invoked as a place where loving is allowed, which is in contrast to Marcello's comments on other occasions of the workshop about not being happy at home, where he lives with his parents. Similarly, the Christian associations of the 'redeemer' might be expected to trouble the happy scenario of *aconchego*, given the overt homophobic attitude in particular the Catholic church has assumed in Brazil, and given its big influence in the country. In the poem, intensities of *aconchego* actually experienced and a desire for *aconchego* are hard to tell apart. To an extent, the poem seems to be precisely about envisioning an unattainable scenario of *aconchego*. Simultaneously, however, it can be seen as intensifying potential for *aconchego* that emerges from the various sounds, places and images evoked. Despite its apparently artificial character of happiness, the poem has a profoundly 'real' dimension as it brings out precisely this potential for *aconchego*, which can be considered as virtually subsisting in the often much more troubled actualities

of the world. *Aconchego* thus lends itself to a similar methodological manoeuvre as '*Geborgenheit*', namely to bringing out the virtual potential subsisting in particular subjective-spatial relations.

The notion of *aconchego* furthers the present engagement with *geborgenheit* in two respects. Firstly, *aconchego* introduces a set of interesting nuances that relate to the diverse grammatical forms it can be used in, in particular the verb form '*aconchegar*'. '*Aconchegue com a gente*' – '*aconchegue with us*', a verse in Marcello's poem calls out. '*Aconcheguing*' in this sense can be understood as an activity of spreading, creating or intensifying *aconchego*, which in the poem is associated with forms of relating to others ('*aconchegue um parente*') and, moreover, as something demanding to 'open one's mind' and even to 'act crazy'. This is an inspiring framing of such an activity as it places a focus on forms of transformation and experimentation – which relates back to, and pushes further, the issue of 'becoming' that in Chapter 3 has been highlighted as a possible aspect of *geborgenheit*. The poem itself can be seen as enacting such an activity of '*aconcheging*' to the extent that its recital, and the atmosphere it creates in the workshop, effectuate a dissemination of such an '*aconchego* seed', scattering embryonic *aconchego* affects in the form of evocative poetic images and an intense spatial atmosphere. It thus brings out a major aim of the workshop (and of this research project more generally), namely the exploration and pluralisation of possibilities of *geborgenheit* and *aconchego*.

The second aspect that is of relevance to this project has to do with the fact that *aconchego*, in contrast to *geborgenheit*, is a common Portuguese notion that my research participants could relate to and that has particular resonances in the very context of research at stake here. In contrast to '*geborgenheit*', which continues to function as the main analytical concept of this research, I retain the italicised spelling of '*aconchego*' in order to highlight the significance of these semantic resonances as it is used in the Brazilian context. *Aconchego* is

thus not able to simply ‘replace’ *geborgenheit*. It has not been developed here into a proper analytical concept that enables an engagement with particular kinds of subjective-spatial relations on a more abstract level, as *geborgenheit* does. However, as it is able to inspire similar kinds of analytical moves in the concrete context of research at stake here, it serves to complement ‘*geborgenheit*’ and to make the analysis become worldly – to exceed an abstract conceptual level where the cases at hand are mere ‘examples’ of a pre-given theoretical argument. In the following, I want to further clarify this relation between ‘*geborgenheit*’ and *aconchego* by commenting on Walter Benjamin’s use of concepts and set this in relation to the Deleuzian framework as developed in Chapter 4.

***Aconchego* and *geborgenheit*: worldly concepts à la Benjamin**

Walter Benjamin’s (e.g. 1924/1972; 1927/1972; 1999; 1938/2006) writings on cities have inspired my use of *aconchego* and *geborgenheit*. Benjamin’s terms like ‘porosity’, ‘transitivity’ or ‘shock’ foster abstract analytical moves, yet at the same time enable the analysis to stay attached to a concrete spatial and historical context, as these terms are developed in relation to such a context from which they cannot easily be detached. Benjamin thereby invents a way of “philosophising beyond philosophy” as Howard Caygill (1998: 120) puts it. The present research uses concepts in a similar way. In Chapter 3, *geborgenheit* was introduced as an analytical term to be used for engaging with subjective-spatial relations. Its specificities with respect to other terms like ‘belonging’ or ‘de-’ and ‘reterritorialisation’ were pointed out, and, in Chapter 4, it was furthermore connected to abstract concepts like ‘affect’ and ‘agency’. At the same time, the German word was retained and not replaced by a

technical term that would have a more overtly abstract character in relation to specific semantics and contexts of use. The resonances the word has acquired in German language use were purposefully exploited as its particular 'evocative potential'. *Geborgenheit* can thus be said to be situated on an intermediary level between abstract analysis and a concrete context of use. *Aconchego* also retains both of these aspects, yet tends more towards the latter, as it is used in the concrete meanings it has for my Portuguese-speaking participants. In concert, the terms enable an analysis that is simultaneously abstract and concrete and that can be conceptualised along the lines of what Caygill calls 'philosophising beyond philosophy'.

In order to bring out this 'Benjaminian' move more clearly, I want to highlight some aspects of Benjamin's philosophical project and how they foster a becoming-worldly of the analysis. I will then briefly reconsider the use of Deleuze-inspired terms like 'affect' and 'agency' in relation to the notions of 'geborgenheit' and 'aconchego'.

Philosophising beyond philosophy

Benjamin's writings strike me in particular for the ways in which they combine a sustained engagement with specific times and places on the one hand, such as the arcades of 19th century Paris (Benjamin 1999) or cities like Berlin, Naples and Moscow (1924/1972; 1927/1972; 1938/2006), with philosophical elaborations on the other, which are often pursued in the very act of writing about these times and places. This style of writing manages to stay thoroughly committed to worldly contexts, aiming to make concrete interventions beyond the sphere of philosophical discourse, while at the same time pushing abstract thinking further, which can be used in a range of contexts beyond the specific

cities and spaces engaged with. In performing such a style, however, Benjamin is far from consistent. Decidedly philosophical, linguistic, mathematical or art-critical texts (e.g. Benjamin 1916/1979; 1968) stand side by side with texts that integrate different genres. Nonetheless, certain issues persist throughout Benjamin's work, the question of 'experience', and its transformation under the conditions of Western modernity, being a major one of them (see Caygill 1998). I will concentrate on this question of experience, as this seems particularly useful for bringing out the specificities of Benjamin's approach.

Benjamin's continuous philosophical project can be described as an endeavour to go beyond Immanuel Kant's understanding of the structure of experience. For Kant, the possibility of experience is based on a set of universal a priori conditions that can be specified through philosophical reflection (Cambridge Dictionary of Philosophy 1999). Kant thus establishes a number of elements ('space', 'time', 'judgement and a set of 'categories') which are said to constitute the conditions of possibility of experience. As Howard Caygill (1998) notes, Benjamin critiques this conception and posits these very elements of experience as formulated by Kant as, "as internally complex, unstable and violently restricting" (23).¹²² While Benjamin is thus concerned with the philosophical problem of 'experience', in his writings on cities he moves towards a notion of experience that announces, as Caygill (1998) says, a "new philosophising beyond philosophy" (120). Let me explain.

In his writings on cities, Benjamin approaches the problem of experience on the basis of a very concrete question, namely how the conditions of experience have (or haven't) transformed in the process of modernisation, in particular in the context of industrialisation and urbanisation in Western Europe. In fact, Benjamin picks up this question of the transformation of

¹²² In this, Benjamin's project aims to make a similar intervention as Deleuze's philosophy (see Seigworth 2006). It is in particular in his writings on cities, however, that Benjamin takes a different route than Deleuze.

experience from German sociologist Georg Simmel and his classical essay 'Metropolis and Mental Life' (Pile 2005). This concern with the concrete formation and transformation of experience sets out the contours of Benjamin's 'worldly' engagement. It announces a thorough investment in the political and social processes of his times. However, Benjamin transforms the sociological question into a philosophical one. We could say that he complements the consideration of historical shifts in the empirical constitution of experience with a concern for the 'virtual' conditions of possibility of experience – without, however, relapsing into abstract philosophising. Caygill's (1998) analysis is instructive here:

In place of a Kantian transcendental deduction of the categories of quantity, relation and modality from the pure unity of the apperceptive I, Benjamin derived such categories of modern experience as 'porosity', 'threshold' and 'shock' from the impure dispersal of anonymous transitivity. [...] Instead of being conceived as a finite number of forms which anticipate and govern the shape of experience, the categories are now seen as intricately woven into the weft of everyday life. (120)

Caygill's summary highlights that, like Deleuze, Benjamin moves away from the Kantian subject of experience, which is governed by universally given, logically necessary, faculties (which relate to a supposedly unitary "apperceptive I"). However, in order to go beyond Kant, Benjamin simultaneously exceeds the traditional philosophical framework. Instead of inventing alternative abstract concepts that enable a re-thinking of experience, he mobilises the thoroughly "impure dispersal of anonymous transitivity", which he arrives at from a concrete, worldly engagement. Together with Asja Lacis, Benjamin developed the notion of 'transitivity' in his writing on the city of Naples. There, he conceived of 'transitivity' as a principle that governs the experience of the city in terms of temporal 'transition' and spatial 'porosity'. This notion

then provided a conceptual starting point for the creation of various further categories of the experience like 'threshold' or 'shock' (Caygill 1998: 120-2).

What is important here is that these various categories, while staying attached to the concrete contexts from which they have emerged, operate simultaneously on an abstract 'philosophical' level. As Caygill points out, they "are not simply the empirical data of historical events" (121). They can rather be conceived in their capacity of enabling new abstract forms of problematisation. However, while Benjamin's concepts are thus oriented beyond the actual, they cannot be apprehended "by philosophical abstraction, but instead require [...] a speculatively informed cultural theory" (ibid.). This is precisely the 'non-philosophical' moment in Benjamin, which enables 'philosophising beyond philosophy'. While the principle of 'transitivity' and the various categories it gives rise to open up virtual possibilities of abstract thought, they are simultaneously not elevated to philosophical concepts that could be entirely abstracted from their concrete contexts of emergence. Caygill thus continues: "The categories of urban experience could not be abstracted from the concrete historical data in which they were set, but had to be presented in its terms" (ibid.). As categories like 'porosity', 'shock' or 'threshold' are presented in the very terms of the historical states of affairs from which they emerge – pertaining for instance to cities like Naples or Paris – they irrevocably bear the traces of this context of emergence. They are 'abstract' only to the extent that they enable new 'virtual' kinds of problematisation.

I see Benjamin's work on cities as fashioning and deploying concepts in a way that is highly resonant with the present mobilisation of 'geborgenheit' and *aconchego*. Benjamin's move from the abstract philosophical problem of 'experience' to the 'impure dispersal of transitivity', as Caygill calls it, indicates a way of fashioning concepts in such a way that these concepts enable certain abstract analytical moves, yet stay inextricably connected to the context of research, 'intricately woven into the weft of everyday life', to use Caygill's formulation. With this use of concepts, Benjamin adds a crucial aspect to the present analysis and the mobilisation of Deleuze-inspired concepts so far. From Deleuzian philosophy we gained notions like 'affirmation', 'affect', the 'virtual', and 'agency', which have been of key importance throughout the thesis. The strength of these notions lies in my view precisely in the fact that they are *not* 'woven into the weft of everyday life'.¹²³ Their relatively 'abstract' character allows them to perform analytical moves on a 'virtual' level of 'problems of thought', which are not tied to 'actual' states of affairs. In the present context, such 'problems of thought' concern the question of how to address subjective-spatial relations and how to extend the view beyond a governmental framing of issues while simultaneously appreciating agentic potential emerging from activism. Of course, the mentioned concepts do not remain on an abstract level but are being *mobilised in relation to* concrete actualities. It was possible, for instance, to talk about 'affective dynamics' in relation to Marcello's poem or about 'paradoxes' allowing 'virtual' potential to

¹²³ Deleuze and Guattari (1994) are very explicit on this issue: "The concept is an incorporeal, even though it is incarnated or effectuated in bodies. But, in fact, it is not mixed up with the state of affairs in which it is effectuated." (21) This emphasis on concepts not being "mixed up with the state of affairs in which it is effectuated" is in direct contrast to Benjamin's concepts that stay 'intricately woven into the weft of everyday life'. This issue could be discussed further by considering Deleuze's notion of 'transcendental empiricism' (see Baugh 2005), and how this notion resonates with yet also differs from Benjamin's approach.

unfold in the context of public security politics. However, in order to move further towards a worldly and response-able engagement with the concrete context of research at stake here, it seems useful to complement such a mobilisation of concepts with notions that are not themselves abstract and being mobilised in relation to a concrete context, but that themselves already *are and stay woven into* the semantic and pragmatic context at stake. Benjamin's category of 'transitivity' stands, as it were, half-way between a commitment to the concrete dynamics unfolding in a particular context and an abstract philosophical conceptualisation of 'experience'. Such an intermediary level of analysis which intermingles the concrete and the abstract is precisely what is needed in the present project.

While 'geborgenheit' has been developed into a rather abstract analytical concept for addressing subjective-spatial relations, it nonetheless retains evocative resonances which the German word has gained in its actual usage. My own position as a native German speaker has implicitly played a significant role in the development and mobilisation of this notion in this research, although the term's resonances have been explained for non-German speakers. More pronouncedly than *geborgenheit*, however, *aconchego* stays woven into, or situated within, the concrete context of research at stake. While analytical gestures around the constitution of subjective-spatial relations are being performed through *aconchego*, and while I have indicated the word's relative semantic openness with respect to various contexts of use, the notion is still used in the particular meanings it has for – and is endowed with by – my research participants, especially in the context of the workshops. This use of the concept is crucial. As elaborated earlier in this chapter, it fosters a folding of analytical moments into the research process – a folding that includes the very concepts used for the analysis. As Benjamin's 'porosity', 'shock', or

‘transitivity’, the notion of *aconchego* stays attached to its context of emergence, thus focusing the analysis on a set of semantic and practical specificities.

The more abstract analytical concepts of ‘affect’, ‘agency’ or ‘affirmation’, then, are being mobilised in concert with the more concretely situated notion of *aconchego* in order to foster a worldly and situated engagement with the concrete issues unfolding in the context of research. The significance of ‘geborgenheit’ ensues from its ‘transitory’ capacity to form a linkage between more abstract analytical gestures around subjective-spatial relations and the engagement with concrete semantic resonances associated with *aconchego*.

Having described the main research activities and the role the research process has played in shaping the analysis and concepts used, I now want to comment more specifically on the mode of analysis itself, and how the heterogeneous kinds of materials and expressions encountered in the research process are being approached. I will point out, firstly, that a focus is on various kinds of ‘expressions’ rather than on ‘discourses’ or ‘representations’ alone, and, secondly, that the analysis is not so much concerned with what expressions ‘represent’ and with what people ‘really’ mean in expressing themselves, but rather aims to appreciate the singular efficacy of expressions and to discuss them in relation to other expressions and the wider research questions.

Mode of analysis

The analytical focus on subjective-spatial relations enables a consideration of enactments of sameness and difference in relation to affective dynamics that are constitutive of and evoked by such enactments – as in the case of the

defiant kiss after the assault in Lapa, which effectuates an actualisation of affective dynamics subsisting within the space. The 'enactments' at stake here are not simply practices or performances of subjects or particular kinds of representation but rather events that involve intensities pertaining to how subjectivities and spaces interrelate (which includes, for instance, subjects and objects, but also spatial atmospheres). The analysis is accordingly not limited to an examination of given discourses, performances or representations, but instead addresses effects of sameness and difference in relation to the particular affective intensities that they actualise and that form their backdrop. An invocation of the atmosphere of Lapa, for instance, was integral to my account of the enactments unfolding in this context. Such intensities are not limited to objects and atmospheres of a concrete space, but can also involve memories and associations, as when the pouring rain for the boy of Benjamin's remembrance creates a sense of *geborgenheit* that invokes a lullaby sung by the cradle and the otter in Berlin's Zoological Gardens. Moreover, as such affective intensities also need to be considered in relation to diagrams that fix them in certain ways, the analysis needs to take into account wider historically shaped formations of power that exceed acute intensities, images and associations. This also involves discourses and technologies that establish norms.

Analysing expressions

'Expressions' can be taken as a basic unit of analysis for engaging with enactments of sameness and difference. The notion of the 'expression' has the advantage of not being limited to a given level or field of analysis, such as 'language', 'visual representation', or 'social interaction'. An 'expression' can be

of virtually any 'materiality' and include textual, vocal, pictorial, pragmatic, relational and atmospheric levels.¹²⁴ If 'sameness' and 'difference' are specific 'effects' of affective dynamics getting actualised, the notion of the 'expression' can serve to address precisely these 'effects' and to specify them in terms of the concrete ways in which such effects are evoked.

The effect of difference invoked by the blow on the gay man's head in the *Snapshot*, for instance, can be seen as operating through a range of expressive registers. First of all, there is the performative or gestural act of a 'straight' guy hitting a 'gay' guy and thereby marking a supposed 'transgression' (the kiss) as intolerable or punishable, which constitutes this effect of 'difference'. This effect can be seen as 'expressive of' a diagram of sexual and gendered norms, as well as of further related powerful regimes like one of violent masculinity. Moreover, as mentioned earlier, the very atmosphere of the place at that time of the night might have contributed to this enactment of difference, thus also getting expressed through this violent gesture. The effect of difference, however, also operates on a register of bodily sensation of the one who is hit – the blow 'expresses' itself here through bodily sensation. In the mentioned case, however, it is not so much the blow itself that evokes an effect of difference, but rather the sense that the same thing could happen again in more violent form. The embodied memory of the blow thus aligns with a concern about future events, evoking a sense of fear. This fear can be seen as an effect of difference that is expressed on embodied levels of sensation and concerns about the future. This effect is necessarily also linked to the mentioned performative or gestural register through which this enactments of difference operates. The advice by someone from the crowd after the incident that the two men are supposed to stop kissing restages the

¹²⁴ My use of the 'expression' is inspired by Deleuze and Guattari's (1980/2004) use of the notion (see Hutta 2009a: 48).

enactment of difference through vocal and verbal registers of expression, although this remark can also be seen as expressive of a concern for the safety of the two men, thus simultaneously evoking a different effect. Further dynamics and expressions could be considered here, for instance an effect of 'sameness' evoked from the perspective of the aggressor who marks the 'others' as different, thereby claiming Lapa as a space where particular norms need to be abided by.

The enactments of sameness and difference discussed in the following chapter will not be scrutinised in such detail with respect to the expressive registers through which effects of sameness and difference are being evoked. The above example was only meant to indicate the range of embodied, performative and verbal expressions that come into play in the present engagement with enactments. In relation to the workshop sessions, for instance, where discussions or recounted stories are analysed, the focus is not on discursive constructions and regularities but rather on the concrete expressions by means of which effects of sameness and difference are evoked. Such expressions can pertain to images of memories – as in the case of Benjamin's childhood memories, but they can also pertain to the situation in the workshop where discussions take place or stories are told, or even to a later moment where workshop data are analysed and particular effects unfold in the concrete moment of analysis. The discussion of Marcello's poem has already provided an example of how images invoked through narrative or recital and the situation of recital can be considered in their interrelation. This discussion has thus indicated, for instance, that affective intensities expressed through the voice, at the moment of recital, are significant apart from the contents of the recital as documented in the transcript.

The multi-method conception of the workshops, then, resonated with this focus on various kinds of expressions. Verbal interactions, including

discussions, partner interviews, and presentations, were complemented by the use and creation of images and film and (further) embodied interactions in the form of theatre or excursions. Moreover, attention was paid to atmospheres and intensities unfolding in the context of the workshop more broadly, which were recorded in workshop diaries. Dynamics of *geborgenheit*, *aconchego*, and further affective relations were thus teased out from such heterogeneous expressions.

Beyond 'interpretation' and 'authenticity'

The intention here is not to 'interpret' expressions in a hermeneutic sense of trying to discover latent meanings behind or within textual or pictorial appearances. The expressions are considered primarily in their indexical rather than symbolic or symptomatic function: the focus is on the ways in which they are expressive in and of themselves rather than representing something else. Accordingly, the central question is not, what something signifies, but what it comes to express. For instance, it is not of great interest within the present analytical framework whether '*meu redentor*' in Marcello's poem functions as signifier representing a particular symbolic order for the subject. What interests in the first place is the particular intensity of *aconchego* expressed here, a singular instant producing various resonances in the writing/reading of the poem. This intensity can, of course, be seen in the context of wider affective dynamics and historically shaped diagrams. Yet, the expression at stake does not simply 'represent' a given order, but rather 'actualises' such affective dynamics in contingent ways. As such an 'eventful' actualisation, the expression needs to be considered in its 'own' and 'singular' intensity and effects – even if this can also serve to indicate wider relations of power.

Instead of 'interpreting' expressions, then, the analysis tries to intensify, juxtapose, connect and contextualise different expressions in order to bring out their particular effects and relate them to the broader research questions.

The analysis of expressions thus also rejects any quest for 'authenticity' in the sense of an endeavour to identify the 'true' meanings of expressions, or what participants 'really' mean. What is of interest is rather the 'reality' or 'actuality' of the expression itself, i.e. its particular intensities and effects unfolding in the very moment of expression. A challenge for the analysis is posed, from this perspective, not so much by a danger of 'misinterpreting' data, but rather by a danger of missing particular intensities and effects that are relevant to the problem at stake, or by relating expressions to research questions in faulty or problematic ways. The endeavour to fold together analysis and research, as discussed in earlier, serves to meet this challenge. However, in such a worldly approach, there is hardly any space for innocence, and, as Haraway (1997) says, one must be "finite and dirty, not transcendent and clean" (36; see Ch. 4). The discussions of enactments of sameness and difference that follow thus need to be seen as emerging from my entanglements in the sites of research which I have been able to engage with only in 'finite and dirty' ways that will hardly lead to any transcendental truth.

8. CARTOGRAPHY OF SUBJECTIVE-SPATIAL RELATIONS

I will now turn to a discussion of several enactments of sameness and difference that have been invoked in the context of the two group workshops in Rio de Janeiro's *Centro* (workshop I) and Nova Iguaçu in the Baixada Fluminense (workshop II). A focus will be on subjective-spatial relations and the affective intensities associated with them in order to bring out the concrete dynamics and effects of these enactments in a nuanced way. Due to this spatial focus, the chapter is titled 'cartography of subjective-spatial relations'.¹²⁵ The notions of *aconchego* and *geborgenheit* help in establishing this focus, although further kinds of relation are considered as well.

The chapter starts with an analysis of several enactments that have manifested in relation to a picture book made by a participant from Workshop I and that will be characterised as 'restless', 'playful', and 'accusatory' enactments of difference. It goes on by recalling some of the specificities of the present engagement with subjective-spatial relations, highlighting the analytical possibilities ensuing from a concern with expressions and affective intensities and how they articulate in the context of concrete subjective-spatial relations. The chapter then introduces further, 'transgressive' and 'respectful' enactments of difference and calls attention to the significance of enactments of sameness, in particular through 'care' and 'belonging'. The chapter ends by calling attention to some of the implications of this analysis of subjective-

¹²⁵ In my use of 'cartography' I once more gain inspiration from Deleuze and Guattari (in particular Deleuze and Guattari 1980/2004: 13-16). A main issue that the authors highlight in their use of 'cartography' and 'maps' concerns the endeavour to bring out virtual intensities or capacities subsisting within bodies or states of affairs, which relates directly to the present engagement with emergent formations of agency as elaborated in Chapter 4. A specificity of maps is for Deleuze and Guattari that they are always in the making and part of a process of experimentation.

spatial relations regarding formations of agency and citizenship. It highlights how this analysis opens the view beyond the imagination of agency prevalent in LGBT activism that is focused on a victimised population.

Heterogeneous enactments I: restless, playful and accusatory enactments of difference

An evocative case of how affective dynamics of *aconchego* feature in enactments of difference is provided by an autobiographical book that a participant of Workshop I made. Vinícius is a 16 year-old high school student who in the workshop identifies as gay, although he has not come out to many people in his social environment, and at times also has girl friends. In this book, Vinícius made drawings and assembled various images from magazines and other sources and commented on them in order to tell the story of his sexual and gendered life. Similarly to Marcello's presentation of his poem mentioned in the previous chapter, Vinícius expresses his enthusiasm about making this picture book, and the other participants listen attentively as he presents it in the third session of the workshop. When I met Vinícius during my following stay in Rio de Janeiro nine months later, he mentioned that he continued working on the book for himself.

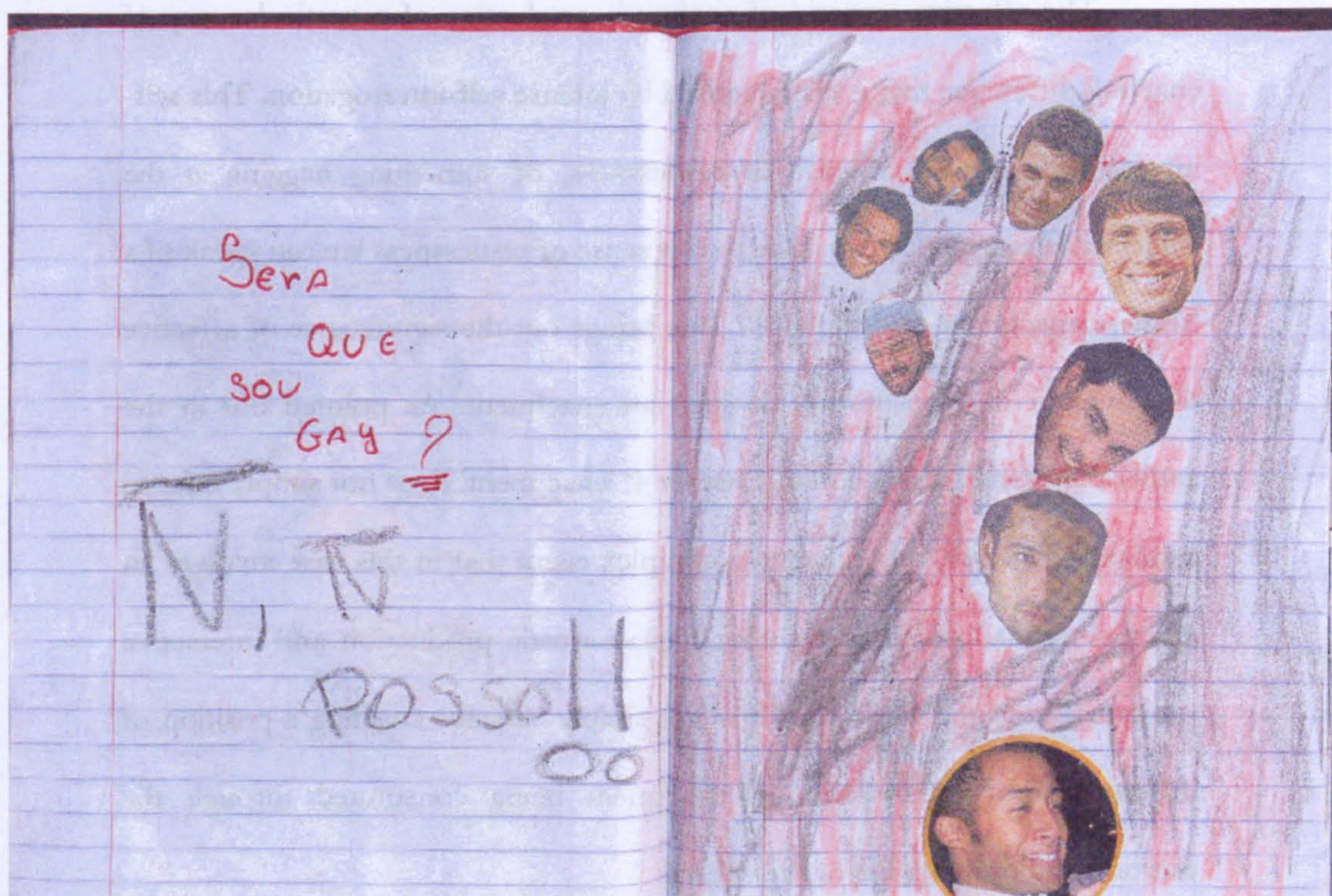


Image 3: *'Is it possible that I'm gay? NO, I CAN'T BE!!'*

One of the collages consists of a big question mark formed by the faces of men of different colours/ethnicities, mostly around 30 years of age, in front of a background scribbled black and red (Image 3). The comment next to the image consists of a question written in red with an underlined question mark: *"Is it possible that I'm gay?"*, and an answer written in bigger, black letters with two exclamation marks: *"NO, I CAN'T BE!!"*. "This was what I thought when I was younger", Vinícius explains in an interview after the workshop. "I always... because society posits gays as a disease, I said: 'Damn! I can't be sick.'" As Vinícius goes on to explain, the big question mark expressing the interrogation of his own homosexuality is composed of the objects of desire themselves; and the colours of red and black express the intense feelings of anxiety and self-hatred surrounding this interrogation that ensues from the societal stigmatisation of gays.

The affective scenario of anxiety is productive of a particular way of enacting difference that is characterised by intense self-interrogation. This self-interrogation evokes a sense of restlessness, of something nagging at the subject and causing distress. Due to this sense of restlessness we can speak of a 'restless enactment of difference'. This brings out the significance of affective dynamics in the constitution of such an enactment. As pointed out in the earlier conceptual discussion in Chapter 4, 'enactment' does not simply refer to a subjective action, but rather to a complex event that in this case involves an affective scenario actualised through quasi-artistic production and interactive presentation in the workshop. It is not simply Vinícius enacting a position of difference, but rather such an enactment being constituted through the creation and presentation of the collage.

However, not much that can be 'affirmed' (in the Deleuzian sense) seems to be expressed in this collage, and the notion of *geborgenheit* seems almost antithetic to the scenario of anxiety-ridden self-interrogation. So why discuss this case here in the first place? Chapter 4 has acknowledged the significance of negative affect in relation to the formation of agency. Negative affect can play an important role in queer people's lives and engaging with it may in turn enable an intensification of positive affect. The sense of restlessness expressed in the collage, detrimental and torturous as it may be, can for instance also incite the subject to strive for a change in his personal and social situation or to gain a different understanding of homosexuality, thus giving rise to different ways of developing agency. What is more, however, is that the very enactment of restless difference through the collage and its presentation in the workshop is expressive of unfolding agentic potential to the extent that it enables Vinícius (and possibly others) to relate to anxieties around homosexuality in novel ways. This emergence of agentic potential and a moment of 'affirmation' is announced by the joyful activity of creating the

picture book itself, which Vinícius continues after the workshop, as well as by the enthusiasm with which he presents it in the workshop. His collages furthermore inspired a theatre play another participant wrote for a different purpose – again indicating the ‘affirmable’ effects of such an enactment of difference.

Affective dynamics of *geborgenheit* more specifically come into play if we consider the context in which the creation of Vinícius’ collages takes place, namely his room. A consideration of a second image brings this out, which also indicates the very diverse ways in which sexual and gendered difference can be enacted in parallel. This collage is accompanied by the comment: “In my room anything goes” (Image 4).

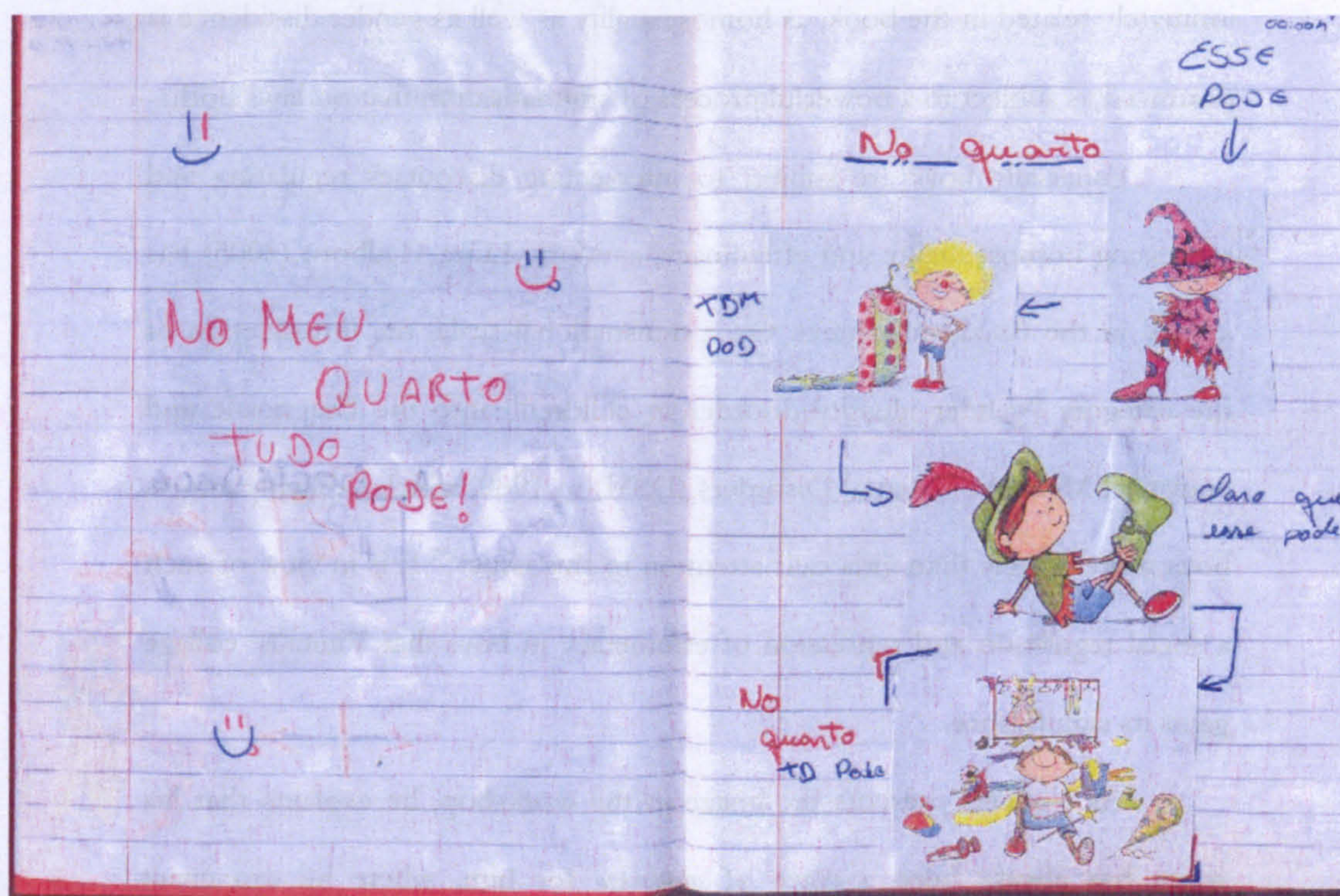


Image 4: ‘In my room anything goes!’

The comment “In my room anything goes!” is surrounded by smileys made of mixed, red and blue, colours. As an earlier image in the book has indicated, red is associated with femininity and blue with masculinity. This collage is

composed of images showing a boy who tries out clothes of a clown, a witch and a kind of vassal. Comments next to the images say, “This one goes” (or “is possible”), “This also goes”, and “Of course this one goes”. These images are connected by arrows that lead to the boy lying on the floor with a big smile, surrounded by several props and clothes. “In the room anything goes” says the comment next to it. The images are taken from the story ‘*O Menino que Brincava de Ser*’ [“The boy who played to be”], by Georgina Martins, which Vinícius had recently seen as a theatre adaptation. The story is about a boy who likes to dress up as a number of characters, including female ones, but gets reproached by his parents and at school. While in the previous collage, the issue with difference had to do with sexual desire, here it is about non-normative or dissident gender performance. Both aspects are however shown to be intimately related in the book, as homosexuality as well as gender dissidence is portrayed as subject to a powerful process of stigmatisation that outlaws both.

Especially boys are subject to intersecting discourses regulating and repressing homosexuality and effeminacy, as Marie Luiza Heilborn (2005) has argued in the Brazilian context. On a transnational scale, the introduction of the category “gender identity disorder in children” into the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM) in 1980, which explicitly targets boys more acutely than girls calls attention to this issue.¹²⁶ It is in view of such a social regulation and repression of effeminacy in boys that Vinícius’ collage gains its significance.

As Vinícius presents the image in the workshop, he explains that his room has always been a place of *aconchego* for him, where he can enact differences that are normally subject to powerful sanctions:

¹²⁶ For a critical discussion see Sedgwick (1993: 151-64) and http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gender_Identity_Disorder_of_Childhood#cite_note-szymanski2008-24.

Vinícius: And so I was like... like in my room, I could do everything.

In my room, I could play being girl, being boy, and so on. I loved that. Because I dressed and undressed, played being Peter Pan and so on, and so I put here: 'in my room, anything goes.'

That was where I felt *aconchegado*=

The room is a place of *aconchego* since it enables the play and experimentation with various gendered figures. This passage shows again the salience of the word '*aconchego*'/'*aconchegado*' with respect to a spatiality enabling an intense nesting that simultaneously gives rise to dynamics of becoming: by playing girl, boy, witch and Peter Pan, the child of Vinícius' remembrance – at least temporarily –re-invents and challenges his own boy-ness.

Implicit in this depiction of his room are the merits of a double privacy: In his room, Vinícius is safe from processes of stigmatisation that characterise not only the public world but also the private space of his family.¹²⁷ The theatre piece that inspired this collage explicitly addresses the struggles around gender performance taking place both at school and at home. Apart from this double privacy or seclusion, the room also positively provides the material grounds for experimentation and play. Clothes, costumes, all kinds of objects and the simple existence of an 'own' room inhabited during years and available for moving around freely may foster and inspire these joyful enactments.¹²⁸

Aconchego and the room's privacy and materiality stand in a mutually constitutive relationship. The boy feels *aconchegado* in his room because this is where anything goes; and this *aconchego*, in turn, affectively sustains and fosters experimentation and play by marking them as enjoyable. While in the collage

¹²⁷ Brazilian anthropologist and activist Luiz Mott has repeatedly pointed out that this double stigmatisation in the public as well the domestic sphere constitutes a worrying particularity in the experience of many lesbian, gay and trans people in contrast, for example, to young black people, who often have their parents' support against racism.

¹²⁸ This point resonates with Hetherington's (1997) suggestion to consider the role of heterogeneous materials in the constitution of places (like 'home').

discussed above an affect of anxiety gives rise to restless self-interrogation, in this one, the happy *aconchego* of the room provides the basis for the staging of what can be called a playful enactment of difference.

The positive spatiality of his room contrasts sharply, however, with an image of the city (Image 4).



Image 4: 'The city as monster'

Vinícius calls this image 'The city as monster'. The monstrous face of the city emerges from the middle of a diversity composed of people with different genders, ages, colours, and potentially also classes and sexual orientations. The city with its diversity that is often associated with the natural emergence of tolerance is here twisted into a breeding place of monstrosity. Vinícius explains:

Vinícius: We live in a city with too much prejudice. Everybody like...
looks at gays, and even those who aren't homophobic. But they

look at gays differently, as if they were different persons, as if they were... I don't know... a disease. So like, that's the title I gave to the image. Because that's what it seems to be for me – a lot of people look at gays differently, without knowing that they are also different.

So, the city's monstrosity is for Vinícius related to the paradox that while all people are visibly different in one way or another, they still pick up and stigmatise the difference of some – in particular gays, but also for example black, poor and sick people (as Vinícius notes elsewhere in his book). This kind of prejudice is seen as something profoundly generalised, something that “[e]verybody” enacts – even the tolerant ones, “even those who aren't homophobic”. This is a second paradox (prejudice against gays being enacted by non-homophobic people) which is directly related to the first one. Both paradoxes announce an uncanny and utterly irrational characteristic of the city. In the collage, city people with all their diversity and tolerance acquire a monstrous and simultaneously aggressive face, which expresses precisely this uncanny characteristic. Monstrosity thus emerges from the paradoxes of difference and othering, tolerance and aggression characterising the city or society as a whole.

This collage resonates with the first one with the question mark and its atmospheric red-and-black anxiety. Yet, while it also evokes a sense of terror and restlessness, the object of interrogation has shifted from self to society. In exposing the monstrosity of the city, or of society as a whole, the collage and its presentation are expressive of a denunciation or accusation. We can thus call the enactment it constitutes an ‘accusatory enactment of difference’.

The juxtaposition of the two images, the own room and the city, brings out how different affective intensities pertaining to a subject's relations to particular spatialities give rise to heterogeneous enactments of difference.

While in the (monstrous) face of the city the boy's anxiety around his sexuality gives rise to terror and accusation, in the *aconchego* of the room this gets suspended, giving way to experimentation and play. These heterogeneous subjective-spatial relations, however, also seem to constitute each other, since the room, at least in part, is experienced as a place of *aconchego* because it offers a retreat from the monstrous city. This monstrosity can in turn only be denounced because the (sexual) difference it is portrayed to despise and threaten has already been enacted, if not discovered, in the *aconchego* of the room. Furthermore, restlessness and joy may also dynamically feed and convert into each other – the movement of escape or flight incited by the sense of restlessness may for instance inspire and intensify experimentation and play.

I want to use these considerations to recall some specificities of the present engagement with subjective-spatial relations and emergent formations of agency, but before briefly point out two issues. Not all young Carioca's of Vinícius' age have their own room and computer, which indicates some privilege in the possibility of playfully enacting difference. This raises the question of how positive subjective-spatial relations can be developed in less privatised spaces, which will be addressed later on. A second issue needs to be considered here as well. While the city and the room are in tension with one another, a spatiality that is curiously absent in his depiction concerns the more proximal environment in which his home is located. When Vinícius introduces himself to the workshop, he says he lives in Tijuca (in Rio's North Zone). Only as some participants get to know him better do they learn that he lives in a favela in Tijuca. Among Rio de Janeiro's middle-classes there is a stigmatisation of '*favelados*'¹²⁹, which may explain why Vinícius holds back this information. In a later conversation, Vinícius remarks that he does not feel ashamed of living

¹²⁹ *Favelado* is a derogatory term of favela residents, although it has also been claimed and positively affirmed by favela residents themselves.

in a favela, yet he did not want to direct particular attention to this – which confirms the problem of stigmatisation. In his picture book, the neighbourhood does not appear as either a place of *aconchego* nor of profound anxiety. It could be interesting to learn more about the possibly more complicated and ambivalent subjective-spatial relations unfolding there. The fact of Vinícius living in a favela at any rate sheds new light on the privileges he might have in having his own room and computer. Let me now highlight some methodological aspects that are important to the present analysis.

Recalling agency and subjective-spatial relations

To begin with, a consideration of contingently unfolding subjective-spatial relations as in the above discussion calls attention to how both ‘positive’ and ‘negative’ affect intersect in complex ways in the constitution of particular enactments. Restlessness in the city is to an extent constitutive of *aconchego* in the room, and can moreover dynamically feed into joy. This relates to the discussion of a Spinozian/Deleuzian approach to affect in Chapter 4, where it was pointed out that while positive affect can announce an ethical potential for change, this needs also to be conceived in relation to the concrete significance of negative affect.

Accordingly, formations of agency that are mediated by enactments of sameness and difference can be seen as emerging from such complex affective dynamics. They do not simply result from certain kinds of actions or subject positions that could be determined in advance, such as overt forms of ‘resistance’ or claim-making. Instead, they emerge as an immanent aspect of unfolding subjective-spatial relations that open up, and simultaneously shape, possibilities for positively relating to spaces, or, more broadly speaking, for

intensifying ‘capacities of affecting and being affected’ (see Ch. 4). The affect of *aconchego* expressed in the collage of Vinícius’ room and its presentation in the workshop signals, and is constitutive of, the actualisation and affirmation of agentic potential. The *aconchegante* room with its double privacy enables experimentation and play. More than that, this positive *aconchego* affect is entangled with affects of anxiety and terror that are in part opposed to yet also articulate with the formation of agency emerging from *aconchego*.

A further issue brought up by the above analysis pertains to the ‘spatial’ aspect addressed here. In the collage of the room and the city concrete, actual, spaces are formative of the enactments of difference at stake. Yet, what I have called subjective-spatial relations is not limited to a straightforward occupation of physical spaces. Such subjective-spatial relations rather come into being as virtual intensities actualise in contingent ways, which means that they can actualise in a range of different contexts and spaces. The ‘city as monster’ collage invokes a set of virtual dynamics that pertain not exclusively to actual city spaces, but rather to ‘society’ in broader terms. ‘The city’ seems rather to be a particular expression through which societal monstrosity actualises. The fact that the affective dynamics at play here are not confined to city spaces as such is confirmed on another occasion during the same workshop session, where, commenting on a further collage Vinícius remarks: “And formerly I had a lot of fear of society, of society’s gaze [*do olho da sociedade*]”.

The expression ‘the city’, however, intensifies this fear in that it provides a spatiality where society’s monstrosity – constituted by the paradoxical simultaneity of diversity and tolerance on the one hand and othering and hostility on the other – actualises in condensed form. This significance of ‘the city’, in turn, highlights the importance of appreciating the role that concrete spaces play in relation to virtual affective dynamics. Vinícius in the following workshop session that focuses on the topics of ‘fear and

discomfort' in fact explicitly marks Rio de Janeiro's busy *Centro* as a place of fear and discomfort. He also expressed his horror at walking the short distance between the downtown metro station (Uruguayana) and the workshop location (Rua 1° de Março), as the station is located at a very lively and busy market area in the *Centro*. We thus arrange for him to be picked up and brought to the station before and after the workshops – which interestingly is enough for him to feel comfortable or *aconchegado* during this walk. While his fear might here also have other reasons, this is still an indication that Vinícius' 'fear of society', which he discusses in relation to his childhood, in some ways persists to the days of the workshop.

What is at stake, then, are particular kinds of ('subjective-spatial') *relations*, rather than physical spaces as such. The relevance of concrete spaces and their objects, atmospheres and further characteristics pertains to the particular intensities and expressions they introduce, thus fostering particular ways of actualising virtual dynamics. To be in someone's company as Vinícius walks Rio de Janeiro's *Centro*, for instance, introduces a particular intensity that transforms the unfolding subjective-spatial relationality, displacing his fears. Intensities pertaining to the room and the *Centro*, respectively, also interact as subjective-spatial relations take shape in the respective spaces. Similar to the way in which the boy of Benjamin's remembrance feels 'at home with the otter' when watching the rain from his apartment, virtual intensities pertaining to the room, the city and further spaces and bodies thus intersect and get expressed in contingent ways.

A final aspect I want to highlight here pertains to how 'expressive registers', as it has been called in the previous chapter, come into play in the present analysis. The enactments of difference discussed here are constituted through concrete ways in which virtual intensities actualise and are expressed in the constitution of subjective-spatial relations. In Vinícius' collages, these

expressions concern not only spaces like the room or the city that they evoke. The creation and presentation of the collages can itself be considered as expressing virtual intensities that intersect or get layered with the intensities these collages express in relation to these spaces. As Vinícius creates and presents collages in the context of the workshop, intense memories of the past are expressed that thereby acquire new significance in the present – and are themselves constitutive of dynamics of *geborgenheit*. The expression of childhood *aconchego* in his room, for instance, is reminiscent of Benjamin's images of *Geborgenheit* in *Berlin Childhood around 1900*. As Benjamin hopes that these images can 'perform later historical experience' (see Ch. 3), so Vinícius' collages bring up a set of intensities that are productive of re-enactments of the past, enabling him to relate to his past in novel ways. What is more, as Marcello's recital of his poem in the workshop, Vinícius' presentation of images of childhood *aconchego* can be said to have an '*aconcheguing*' function, scattering '*aconchego* affects' that are associated with these images or expressions and that may resonate with participants' memories. The enthusiasm involved in the presentation of the picture book is moreover conducive to, and expressive of, a particular atmosphere of *geborgenheit* during the workshop itself where participants can positively inhabit the space by introducing and discussing their joyful as well as painful experiences. This relates to the role of the workshop as itself intensifying dynamics of *geborgenheit*, as discussed in Chapter 7. Expressions pertaining to the collage and its presentation (the city as monster, *aconchego* in the room) thus intersect with expressions pertaining to memories of the past (Vinícius' re-enactment of memories of anxiety and *aconchego*) as well as expressions related to the workshop and the activities taking place in its context (participants' associations, the atmosphere of *geborgenheit*).

Heterogeneous enactments II: the pleasure of transgression

The significance of the double privacy in Vinícius' playful enactment of difference raises the question of what enables queer people to expand joyful enactments and spaces of *aconchego* into spaces of family, community and the city. In order to elaborate on this question, I want to discuss some further cases, which are taken from conversations that took place in a small town, or *bairro*, in the Baixada Fluminense. Two participants of Workshop II, Josué and Nando accompanied me to the house of Sasha, a gay/trans activist. I will call Sasha's *bairro* 'bairro B'.

Bairro B is located in Nova Iguaçu's conurbation that sprawls along several bigger routes into the more rural northern and eastern parts of Baixada Fluminense. Until the mid 20th century, these parts comprised to a large extent plots of land used for the cultivation of oranges and other agricultural products. Today, poor and lower middle-class as well as some wealthier households inhabit the mostly low-rise dwellings. Many of these households have recent histories of migration, as since the mid 20th century people moved there from other parts of Brazil as well as the state of Rio de Janeiro. Sasha, who is in his 40s and grew up in the Northeastern city of Maceió, came to bairro B in the early 1990s, after spending several years in other parts of the city of Rio de Janeiro. It was during his time in Rio that Sasha – previously identifying as a *boy* or *bicha boy*, which is an expression for an effeminate gay guy – came to develop a *travesti* identity. At the time of the interview, however, Sasha's identification is again more pronouncedly male. I will comment some more on Sasha's gender identification later on.

It is a warm Saturday afternoon, and on there is hardly any traffic apart from occasional motorcyclists and pedestrians on the unpaved streets off

bairro B's main road. As Nando, Josué and I come to Sasha's house he invites us to coffee on the veranda and, after an initial conversation, agrees for me to switch on my mp3 recorder. Enjoying the calm atmosphere, seeing Sasha's smiling face and listening to the stories he tells, I sense a kind of *geborgenheit* that resonates with the way in which he depicts and enacts life in bairro B. It is this resonance between the sense of *geborgenheit* unfolding on the veranda and the events evoked through narrative that I want to use here to map out some of the affective dynamics sustaining enactments of transgression, as well as further enactments of difference and sameness.

In the beginning of our conversation, Sasha mentions various festivities that have been taking place in bairro B, some of which have attracted people from all over the state of Rio, he says. With the reference to these parties and festivals, Sasha stages the peripheral and apparently sleepy *bairro* as a vibrant place alive with erotic energy: "Oh, that used to be fantastic", Sasha describes one of these festivals, "the *bichas* went wild – they used to make out a lot [*namoravam pencas*]¹³⁰ with the *bofes* – they came here from all kinds of places from the state of Rio – it was *o fervo*!" As has been mentioned in Chapter 2, '*bicha*' and '*bofe*' are somewhat complementary notions referring to effeminate, sexually passive, and masculine, sexually active men, respectively. '*O fervo*' derives from '*ferver*', 'to boil', and means something like 'crazy', 'hot', 'wild'. It evokes a festive atmosphere where camp expressions and erotic relations can joyfully, and publicly, be engaged. Here, the atmosphere of *o fervo* is related to the assertion that "the *bichas* went wild" and had intense amorous encounters with the '*bofes*'.

Erotic encounters between *bichas* and *bofes*, in Sasha's talk, give rise to a sense of *o fervo*, which is related to a moment of transgression they express.

¹³⁰ *Namorar* has a range of connotations, from 'to flirt' or 'covet' to 'to go out with', 'make out with' etc.

While relations between *bichas* and *bofes* are framed according to a *machismo* framework of binary sexual and gender roles, a public staging of such relations and encounters nonetheless challenges prevalent norms – which can be attributed in particular to the fact that *bichas* are perceived as not quite being the women whose gender role they perform. The moment of transgression, then, is announced precisely by this publicness of the encounter. The following statement by Josué, who used to live in bairro B and has known Sasha for many years, brings this transgression out more clearly. As he joins Sasha's talk about local festivities, Josué says: "What a blast [*Que bomba*], this carnival of... at this carnival I saw a colleague of mine that I hadn't seen for a long time, and I kissed him on the mouth in front of everybody". Josué evokes the public ("everybody") as an audience "in front of" which the transgressive homosexual kiss is staged. However, what matters seems not to be who exactly this 'audience' is or the concrete ways in which it watches or responds. What "in front of everybody" actually means stays quite vague here. What matters seems to be rather the fact that the gay (or perhaps *bicha-bofe*) kiss happens 'in public', where its visibility is not limited and controlled.

Sasha's and Josué's depictions both express what I want to call transgressive enactments of difference. These enactments are constituted by the respective acts of *namorar*- and kissing-in-public and the particular affective dynamics they emerge from and simultaneously intensify. Similarly to the way in which Sasha depicts public same-sex encounters as part of *o fervo* ("Oh, that used to be fantastic"; "it was *o fervo*"), Josué dramatises this moment of transgression in the context of an amazing and erotically appealing Carnival event ("*Que bomba...*"). The notions of *fervo* and *bomba* are themselves already evoke some kind of extra-ordinary, transgressive event that introduces a moment of 'difference' – a boiling hot and wild atmosphere, a disruptive blast.

The difference or 'deviance' of 'homosexual' erotics and kisses intensifies and is intensified by this transgressive atmosphere.¹³¹

Transgressive enactments of difference are thus at the same time constitutive of and enabled by the affective intensities of *ferro*. These intensities are also expressed through Sasha's and Josué's voices. As they evoke the respective events ("went wild" ... "*namoravam pencas os bofes*" ... "came from all kinds of places" ... "kissed him on the mouth in front of everybody") the rhythm of their speeches is fast but dwells on and accentuates certain sounds like the '*f*' of '*ferro*' or the '*b*' of '*bomba*', supporting the mentioned dramatisation of amazement. Sasha's intonation is also interesting, since his voice lowers almost to a whisper, blending, as it were, with a desiring breath. The ways in which the specific events are recounted thus intensifies the very enactments at stake here – similar to the way in which Vinícius' presentation of his collages in the workshop formed part of the enactments expressed.

A particularity of the mentioned transgressive enactments of difference, which manifests in Sasha's and Josué's narratives and voices, is their expansive erotic appeal – they invite for indulging in the amazement and erotics of the transgressions, to be affected by the very movements of transgression evoked. I will come back to this. A further particularity concerns the special way in which 'difference' is being mobilised. The sense of pleasure described here ensues from a mobilisation of difference – the staging of erotic encounters between 'men' in public – in ways that transgress the standards commonly impeding such encounters. Similarly to the 'playful' enactment of difference discussed earlier, 'transgressive' enactments thus open up ways of joyfully affirming sexual and gendered difference. In addition, a moment that is related to the public-ness of this affirmation is very pronounced. Considering this

¹³¹ I have elaborated on the significance that the 'kiss' plays in this context in more detail in Hutta (2009a).

particularity enables a discussion of the concrete (social and political) implications of such 'transgressive' enactments – as compared to more privatised enactments, but also as compared to enactments where it is not the emphasis on difference but rather on commonality or sameness that enables joyful subjective-spatial relations (which will be further discussed later on).

My concern with 'transgressive enactments of difference' is focused on the affective dynamics involved and the concrete implications or effects of such enactments. It might be useful to point this out, as various feminist and queer debates have also addressed the issue of 'transgression', yet frequently focusing more strongly on the question of how transgressions challenge dominant orders of sex, gender and sexuality. A recurrent theme, for instance, has been the question of the extent to which acts of transgression subvert or reinforce such dominant orders. Elizabeth Wilson (1993), for instance, argues in her text "Is transgression transgressive?" that "transgression depends on, and may even reinforce, conventional understandings of what it is that is to be transgressed" (109).¹³² My present engagement, while related to these debates, is however less centred on this issue of 'subversion' vs. 'reinforcement' of norms. By considering affective dynamics and concrete effects of transgressive enactments, I aim to bring out how agentic potential emerges and gets shaped in particular ways. Of course, the formation of agentic potential can have political implications like the 'subversion' or 'destabilisation' of norms. Yet, these can be understood as particular and contingent effects among others and could be considered in relation to concrete enactments.¹³³ The focus on emergent formations of agency directs attention first of all to the ways in which bodies' potentials of affecting and being affected are re-shaped, which

¹³² A similar discussion has taken place regarding what Mikhail Bakhtin (1968) calls the 'carnavalesque' – a temporary overturning of social hierarchies (see Eagleton 1981, Langman and Ryan 2009).

¹³³ For a similar argument with respect to discussions around Carnival and transgression (as mentioned in note 132) see Green (1999: 203) and Lewis and Pile (1996).

can hardly be addressed in any nuanced way by focusing on the question of 'subversion' versus 'reinforcement' alone.

The transgressive enactments evoked in Sasha's and Josué's depictions thus need to be specified against the transgressions discussed by writers like Wilson (1993). What Wilson has in mind is the politicisation of transgressive aesthetics in the Northern *metropoles* since the 1980s. These aesthetic expressions and practices have been labelled with terms like 'gender-bending' and 'gender-fuck' and have been considered in terms of their potential to parodistically reverse traditional gender roles, thereby exposing their artificiality (for a critical discussion of such practices see Wilkinson and Kitzinger 1996). The transgressive enactments staged in the context of bairro B are less reversals that would expose the artificial character of sexuality and gender (although they might to an extent do so). Apart from the questions of stabilising or destabilising representations of sexuality and gender, however, these enactments can be understood as enabling joyful articulations of difference and encounters or acts that are normally subject to sanctions. This is neither a simple subversion nor affirmation of norms.

While the temporary character of transgressive enactments might be said to affirm the order in place most of the time by staging such enactments as mere 'exceptions', such enactments – as is discussed in what follows – also reverberate beyond determined times and spaces, announcing 'virtual' possibilities for re-constituting subjective-spatial relations. Green's (1999) discussion of carnival events in Rio de Janeiro brings this out quite well. As Green shows, the appropriation of carnival by cross-dressers, gays and trans people has been far more complex than for instance the classical reading of Brazilian anthropologist Roberto da Matta (1984/1997) would have it, according to which ordinary people can temporarily infuse social hierarchies with egalitarian values. Instead, Green points out that for Brazilian

homosexuals, “Carnival, rather than being an act of inversion, provides the opportunity for an *intensification* of their own experiences as individuals who transgress gender roles and socially acceptable sexual boundaries the entire year” (Green 1999: 203, emphasis in the original).¹³⁴

Green’s emphasis on carnival providing for homosexuals an “opportunity for an *intensification*” of very common and recurrent experiences is of great significance here, as this directs attention to the formation of agency in queer people’s everyday lives. Following Green, queer people constantly, or repeatedly, transgress sexual and gendered boundaries, and carnival events provide an opportunity for intensifying such experiences. These events, then, open up possibilities for experimenting with and learning about transgressions, but also indicate the struggles and pains involved in gaining spaces where difference can be enacted. What is more, particular transgressive enactments of difference may get affectively folded into queer people’s pleasurable relations to spaces beyond carnival or festive events. It is this dynamic relationship between affective relations to space, enactments of difference and formations of agency that I am pursuing here.

Coming back to Sasha’s and Josué’s narratives and their style of talking, then, a folding of the pleasure of transgression from past events into the present takes place – which is reminiscent of the way in which in Vinícius’ account dynamics of *aconchego* unfolding in his room and during his presentation in the workshop fold into each other. The very research process – in which I myself am bodily and affectively entangled – provides a site here for engaging with the unfolding affective dynamics and subjective-spatial relations at stake. As the two talk, the affective scenario of transgressive-ness travels

¹³⁴ Green goes on to depict a number of different ways in which such an ‘intensification’ of transgressive experiences has been articulated, from the attempt to perfectly imitate glamorous and beautiful femininity to playful parody. These articulations or performances have occurred in a range of contexts, from street events and drag balls to samba schools and commercial parades; and they have unfolded in a range of ways, staging gay solidarity, eliciting regulatory state control, and featuring in global marketing.

from the depicted festive events right to the veranda of Sasha's house. During our conversation over coffee, a kind of generalised atmosphere of *ferro* unfolds that is of the mentioned expansive nature, inviting those present to indulge in the pleasures of transgression. Consider the following passage, where Josué and Sasha suggest having a barbecue party at Sasha's house on my next visit:

Josué: Then when you come again to Brazil, Simon, we're gonna spend a weekend here.

Sasha: Yes.

Simon: That's nice [*Tá legal*].

Nando: That's gonna be fun.

Sasha: [We'll make a barbecue], ((Josué: yes)) ((Simon: wow)) call the boys to come here.

Josué: When there is a party here, my love – it's a delight [*é uma delícia*].

It always starts with a family party, right, it starts as a family party [*Nando laughs*]. ((Sasha: Of course!)) Then the women leave, and the *bofes* stay (and we take them all).

– Just as Sasha and Josué previously expressed amazement at the *ferro* of festivities (“Oh, that used to be fantastic”; “*Que bomba*”, etc.), so do we in this passage with respect to the idea of a barbecue party: “*Tá legal*”; “That's gonna be fun”; “*é uma delícia*”. Josué's depiction brings out how pleasurable transgressive-ness may gradually unfold during the festivity: “it starts as a family party” – where sexual and gender relations stay in place – “Then the women leave and the *bofes* stay” – to be picked up by the generalised “we”, by the gays or *bichas*.

In a similar way, pleasurable relations ensuing from enactments expand to a number of further occasions. Sasha and Josué, for instance, patently enjoy sharing memories and fantasies of sexual relations with men in the community, sometimes in great detail. A folding of imagined, narrated and present

enactments thus takes place which resonate with each other, and – as we may say with reference to James Green’s considerations of carnival – intensifies an experience of transgressive-ness. In one of the most curious incidents during the conversation, Sasha informs us about the penis size of a young man who passes by the house in order to deliver something. The ordinary activity of a man that could perfectly fit prevalent norms of heterosexuality gives rise here to an invocation of *fervo* and transgression. Ordinary community life gets thus joyfully layered with queer eroticism. The semi-public space of the veranda – which forms part of the private context of the house yet enables seeing and being seen – fosters not only the intensification of a sense of *fervo* and transgression, it is also expressive of a subjective-spatial relationality where enjoyable enactments of difference can unfold beyond a privatised space like Vinícius’ room.

It is thus not simply carnival as such that enables an intensified experience, but the particular moments and spaces where transgressive enactments take place. In the above case, it is a resonance between the affective intensities of the evoked festive occasions and the affective intensities unfolding through our conversation on the veranda that enable the intensified experience of transgressive-ness. This experiential intensity accordingly ensues from its affective situated-ness within both concrete festive spaces and the context of its narrative expression, as well as a resonance between them.

The affective dynamics involved here do not only concern the atmosphere of *fervo* and transgressive-ness, but also intensities of *geborgenheit*. I have already indicated that for me a sense of *geborgenheit* emanated from the veranda during our conversation. This *geborgenheit* springs partly from the pleasure and ease with which transgressions are enacted. Furthermore, the relaxed and enjoyable atmosphere of the place and the sunny Saturday afternoon contribute to this sense of *geborgenheit*, which in turn fosters the

enactments of transgression. In other words, affective dynamics of *fervo* and *geborgenheit* are mutually constitutive. The significance of *geborgenheit* and *aconchego* regarding queer enactments of difference in bairro B is however more explicitly addressed in a further passage of our conversation, which simultaneously brings up a further set of enactments that also have to do with the question of sameness.

Heterogeneous enactments III: respect and care

The fact that transgressive enactments travel beyond particular festive events indicates a more general possibility of joyful enactments of difference as well as sameness related to sexual and gendered norms in bairro B. The question ensues of how encounters between queer and straight subjects and performances are negotiated in the everyday. I ask Sasha and Josué:

Simon: Why don't you have this kind of prejudice here? Because in a lot of smaller places=

Sasha: No, but not here. Here in [bairro B] – it's a very respectful place.

'Prejudice', *preconceito*, is a word used very generically in Brazil for manifestations of hostility against minority groups (as in Vinícius' statement quoted earlier: "We live in a city with too much prejudice"). Sasha replies to my question about such problems of *preconceito* by pointing out that bairro B is "a very respectful place". The issue respect invoked here creates an interesting counterpoint to *fervo*. Both 'respect' and '*o fervo*' have to do with a positive or pleasurable way in which difference is enacted. However, while the earlier talk about *fervo* is related to transgressions, the question of respect, circulates

around issues of recognition – of being respected, and thus recognised, for (or ‘despite’) ‘who’ one is.

Interestingly, a scenario of *aconchego* enables respectful enactments to unfold, and simultaneously emerges from their middle. Such an interdependency of respect and *aconchego* is expressed in the following passage, where Josué and Sasha comment on Sasha’s being respected in the community in Baixada Fluminense:

Josué: Sasha is much respected here, because=

Sasha: I help the community, I help the children

Josué: The community of [bairro B] ((Sasha: yes)) doesn’t see itself without Sasha anymore.

Sasha: Yes. Little children come here, elderly gentlemen come, to get a medicine, I (will speak) to the doctor, I take a look... I make an appointment. Sometimes the person is sick, and I will visit them ((Simon: yes, great)), I will help. I help everyone, man, woman, I help everyone. Because we don’t know what tomorrow will bring. ((Simon: Uhum)) You see? So, it’s good to be at a place where everyone respects you, ((Nando: that’s true)) right? I say like: ‘(...) What happened? Did something happen?’

At the time of the interview, Sasha is training as a nurse, which enables him to establish particular kinds of relations to other people in the community. Sasha’s vivid depiction of “a place where everyone respects you” reminds Nando of the issue of *aconchego* that we had dealt with some weeks earlier in Workshop II:

Nando: This kind of thing that he’s talking about reminds me of the word ‘*aconchego*’ ((Simon: uhum)).

Sasha: Yes.

Josué: Yes, this here is really a place of *aconchego*.

Sasha: Yes. So it's *aconchego*=

The *aconchegante* situation of our present conversation, which resonates with Sasha's depiction, may contribute to Nando's association. Josué, who used to live in bairro B, seems to confirm this kind of resonance when he says: "Yes, this here is really a place of *aconchego*", thus relating Sasha's talk to 'this place here.' "So it's *aconchego*" summarises Sasha, as if capturing in this affirmation the issues of respect as well as his earlier depictions of bairro B that evoked *o fervo*. The connection between the respect described by Sasha and *aconchego* is so close here that one seems to evoke and presuppose the other.

This example brings up a further issue. While respect is staged as an almost natural or essential characteristic of bairro B ("it's a very respectful place"), it is simultaneously related to Sasha's caring activities, and thus seems to entail a constant effort. Sasha makes the necessity of such an effort explicit when he comments on the process of becoming a respected part of the community, talking about a "struggle for you to be respected":

Sasha: In [bairro B] I... the struggle for you to be respected means you can't live in a ghetto. I'm not much in favour of ghettos, ((Simon: yes)) because when you stay in the ghetto, you stay only within your group and close in. [...] I went to see my neighbour [*meu próximo*]. ((Simon: Aha.)) So my neighbour came to see that we, homosexuals, are not creatures from another world. ((Simon: Aha.)) With his prejudice already diminishing, ((Simon: aha)) he started becoming our friend. ((Simon: Aha.)) You see? So this was not from one moment to another, this was from (...) 92 to now.

The "struggle for you to be respected" entails transforming the own position as alien ("creatures from another world") and making others become "our friend". This process involves the establishment of a relation of commonality

or sameness, where a bond of friendship creates the condition of possibility for the recognition of difference. Note that Sasha does not frame this process as a straightforward inclusion or integration into an established community, but rather as an establishment of friendship across difference.

Coming back to the previous passage, then, respect is related to an effort of caring that enables friendship and sameness across difference. More specifically, this 'caring enactment of sameness', as we might call it, is based on an invocation of people of the community as needy subjects looking for help, and simultaneously on a staging of Sasha as a caregiver eager to satisfy their needs – "I (will speak) to the doctor, I take a look... I make an appointment", "I will visit them, I will help". The transformation of the respective positions of alien and community members that enables *aconchegante* friendship is thus premised on a staging of complementary positions of needy and care-giving subjects. The issue of care forms part of a double scenario of *aconchego* here: Sasha is '*aconchegando*' the people of his community and is in turn being '*aconchegado*', in his difference, within it.

It would be possible to consider further the moral and religious undertones resounding in Sasha's formulation of going to see his 'neighbour' (*meu próximo*).¹³⁵ Various religious services and rituals, including Afro-Brazilian ones, are practiced in bairro B, and Sasha, on another occasion, mentions attending a Christian church service. Seen in this light, the caring enactment acquires a particular religious-moral undertone. As Sasha becomes a caring subject, he simultaneously becomes a morally respectable one.¹³⁶

A further interesting issue concerns Sasha's ambivalent, or paradoxical, gender identification, which seems to play a significant role regarding this way

¹³⁵ "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself" translates into Portuguese as '*mas amarás o teu próximo como a ti mesmo*'.

¹³⁶ For an insightful discussion of 'respectability' in relation to questions of gender, sexuality and class see Skeggs (1997).

of affectively establishing and negotiating difference and sameness. As the following passage shows, Sasha identifies not simply as either male or female, but rather as both male *and* female, which opens up particular possibilities of transgression as well as respect. As I ask Sasha whether it is ‘o’ Sasha or ‘a’ Sasha — ‘he’ or ‘she’ — Sasha explains:

Sasha: Well... [Josué and Simon laughing]

Nando: It depends, right?

Simon: Sometimes like this, sometimes like that.

Sasha: No, it’s like this. In the beginning, I was a ‘boy’. Then I lived together with V., and then I ended up being ‘a Sasha’, right?

[...] (...) that time was great, it was that nice phase of *travesti*.

Nando: Ah, you were *travesti*?

Sasha: Yes, this whole kind of thing.

Sasha’s initial hesitation in replying (“Well...” [“*Olha...*”, literally: “Look...”]) indicates the simultaneous excess and lack of signification as regards his/her current identification. The identities of ‘boy’ and ‘*travesti*’ are attributed to the — past. (“That nice phase of *travesti*” seems to refer to Sasha’s personal experience of enjoying life as *travesti*.) Today, Sasha has switched back to a more pronouncedly ‘male’ identification. He cut his hair and dresses in men’s clothes. As he says, this makes it easier for him to make professional progress with respect to his training as a nurse. However, the *travesti* identification still persists in certain ways, as indicated for instance by Sasha’s name. (I chose ‘Sasha’ as pseudonym since it can be a male as well as female name. Sasha’s actual name bears a similar ambivalence, yet is more clearly recognisable as a female name or *travesti* alias.) Sasha is also very open about ‘his’ homosexual desires. The heterogeneous categories of ‘*travesti*’, ‘boy’, ‘man’, and ‘gay’ are thus all being mobilised at present in some way or another.

This plurality of identifications creates an excess of signification which in turn evokes Sasha's hesitation in responding to the question of whether it is 'o' or 'a' Sasha: "Well...". The 'either, or' binary does not quite seem apt here, and gives way to a paradoxical 'both, and' – 'o' *and* 'a' Sasha. Sensing this peculiar uncertainty, Josué and I laugh, and Nando suggests "It depends, right?" This laughter can be seen as an embodied response to the uncertainty the paradox provokes, or as a kind of 'knowing laughter' ensuing from an implicit understanding of this paradox (similarly Motzkau 2007: 381). This paradox enables an actualisation of agentic potential, as the paradoxical gender position plays a significant role regarding the achievement of respect. The persisting trans (and thus also female) identification facilitates the care-giving role, a role traditionally coded as female, which in turn enables Sasha's belonging to the community despite lacking a more traditional integration through kinship or marriage. The gay/male identification, on the other hand, counteracts the alienation Sasha says he would experience as *travesti* in the context of waged labour. Irreconcilable identifications coexist, fostering the actualisation of enactments of care and respect that are constitutive of a particular agentic formation.

Respect emerges from a simultaneous enactment of sameness and difference through care and morality in an affective context of *aconchego* – it stages an (already won) struggle for recognition of difference in an *aconchegante* space of friendship.¹³⁷ The *aconchego* of the place fosters this enactment of sameness and difference; and these enactments are in turn constitutive of the scenario of *aconchego* that the four of us affirm during our conversation.

¹³⁷ This simultaneity of positions of sameness and difference bears similarities to the 'paradoxical space' that Gillian Rose (1993) sees as characterising the subject of feminism: "This space is multi-dimensional, shifting and contingent", she notes, and goes on: "It is also paradoxical, by which I mean that spaces that would be mutually exclusive if charted on a two-dimensional map – centre and margin, inside and outside – are occupied simultaneously" (140).

Heterogeneous enactments IV: agonistic and demonstrating appeals to sameness

A further passage from the same conversation indicates that the struggle to gain respect can also involve contestations:

Josué: Here there are a lot of *travestis*, and homosexuals are very united.

Sasha: Yes, here they are.

Josué: Here, we are like, 'you don't accept us? We are a group, you won't accept the group?', you see? When we go out, we all go out in a group. ((Simon: Ah, ok.)) You see? We command respect, and so these kinds of ties got created. ((Simon: Uhum)) Even those who don't accept us, respect us.

Sasha: We don't want that they accept us, we want them to respect us.

What Josué calls 'respect' here is being 'commanded' by a collectivity that appears in an almost threatening manner – "We are a group, you won't accept the group?". The enactment of care has given way here to one of agonistic contestation and claim-making. 'Respect' seems to be something even those "who don't accept us", those who seem unwilling to approve the particular difference of *homossexuais*, are asked to show. This same agonistic relationship with the public also serves to consolidate "ties" amongst the subaltern *travestis* and gays. The struggle for recognition of difference is dramatised through the "we" of homosexuals being set against "those". This sense of 'we' or unity simultaneously seems to provide an affective backdrop for being able to make the claim for 'respect'. "When we go out, we all go out in a group" – this statement invokes a sense of strength, an embodied capacity to 'command respect' that ensues precisely from this sense of unity.

Josué's statement, however, takes the notion of 'respect' to its conceptual limits, if not beyond. Can we really speak of respect for someone when there is not simultaneously also acceptance? Sasha, who notes this tension, comes in and turns Josué's formulation around: "We don't want that they accept us, we want them to respect us". In this formulation, which is familiar from social movement discourses in the Brazilian as well as Anglo-American context, respect seems to presuppose and go beyond acceptance. Respect, properly speaking, cannot be the mere 'acceptance' or 'toleration' of difference; and it cannot simply be enforced by means of threat.¹³⁸

Achieving respect means to become a 'respect-able' part of the community, not just a 'tolerated' or 'accepted' alien existing within it. As the discussion of Sasha's enactment has shown, this process can involve the enactment of sameness yet does not imply the erasure of difference. Moreover, as the above passage indicates, less harmonious or 'caring' enactments involving contestation and endeavours to 'command' respect can also come into play, even if this might challenge the very notion of respect itself. We could speak here of 'commanding' or 'agonistic' enactments of difference. To the extent that such enactments aim to stage respect, however, they also entail an appeal to 'sameness', as a further case indicates.

The following statement by Josué, who identifies as '*negro*', or 'black', brings out an interesting difference in his own capacity to enact respect 'as gay' or 'as *negro*', which is, moreover in tension with his above remarks about 'commanding respect'. As I ask Sasha, Josué and Nando about issues of racial

¹³⁸ Angelia Wilson (1993) provides a clear account of LGBT politics of respect in contradistinction from 'toleration'. "Toleration", she notes, with reference to Susan Mendus, necessarily rests on a bed of disapproval. [...] With a history so dominated by social, political and moral outrage at the very mention of homosexuality, toleration cannot be welcomed as a virtue of liberal character as much as a warning of eventual unrest. Toleration has limits. When those limits are reached the tolerator has the power to criminalize and punish the tolerated. (174-5)

Against this logic of toleration Wilson posits the need for the mutual respect of differences, which also needs to allow experimentation and transgression (183-6).

consciousness and racism in bairro B and Baixada Fluminense, Josué, comments:

Josué: I've already been in some situations – down there [in the South Zone], never here in Nova Iguaçu, I've never been in a situation, like, where they look at me funny.

Nando: I haven't been (...)

Josué: But once I was at the Americana shop down there, I went to check out CDs, and the security looked at me funny. I turned to him and said: 'Any problems? I'm listening!' ((Simon: Yes)) I've always been like that – facing prejudice with=

Nando: (With ...)

Josué: Not as gay, not as gay. As gay, I don't do direct confrontation [*eu não bato de frente*; literally: 'I don't hit frontally'] ((Simon: aha)). As gay, I demonstrate [*eu mostro*]. I think that direct confrontation is more aggressive, and if he attacks me I won't know how to fight. ((Simon: Aha)) So I demonstrate my intelligence and proficiency [*habilidade*]. But as *negro* I've always asserted myself, ((Simon: uhum)) you see? Because I'm a human being.

Interestingly, both Josué and Nando contend that they have not made racist experiences in Nova Iguaçu. While this contention could itself be further interrogated, this becomes understandable if one takes the dynamics of racialised segregation described in Chapter 2 into account, and the predominance of wealthier and whiter populations in Rio's South Zone – where Josué does mention to have made a racist experience.

What I want to highlight, however, is that Josué states that “as *negro*” he positively asserts his difference, “facing prejudice” directly. This constitutes an ‘agonistic’ kind of enactment. With the statement “Because I’m a human

being”, Josué affirms himself at the same time as a respect-able part of the (human) community, which expresses an appeal to sameness. While it seems possible for someone identifying as gay to affirm himself in the same way, Josué makes a distinction here: “As gay I don’t do direct confrontation”. The statement “I won’t know how to fight” seems contradictory, since “as *negro*” he seems not to fear direct confrontation. Moreover, this refraining from ‘confrontation’ seems to contradict Josué’s earlier statement about ‘commanding respect’. So let us take a closer look at the dynamics involved here.

As such, the difference between his behaviour ‘as *negro*’ and ‘as gay’ may be related to the different social framing of being black and racism on the one hand and being gay and homophobia on the other. While, as Chapter 2 has indicated, racist violence and discrimination are serious problems, ‘racism’ has long been considered socially unacceptable (Fry 2000; Marx 1998). This explains why Josué feels entitled to claim legitimacy ‘as black’. An openly hostile attitude towards homosexuals, on the other hand, can still be seen as far more common and accepted. Not only are expressions of homosexuality often considered as transgressions that can ‘rightly’ be challenged, the very legitimacy of making claims ‘as gay’ – the right to have rights, so to speak – seems to be far more problematic. This relates directly to the question of ‘citizenship’, which, following Arendt (1955/2004), has been defined as ‘right to have rights’ (see Parek 2008, or, as Isin 2008: 371 suggests, the ‘right to claim rights’, which, he argues, does not sound as passive and possessive). Being a respect-able part of the community (of ‘humans’) could also be translated into ‘being a citizen’.

Difference and sameness, then, are enacted differently depending on what kinds of difference are at stake. While ‘as black’, Josué feels entitled to claim legitimacy ‘as human being’ (or as ‘citizen’), ‘as gay’, he feels in need to

‘demonstrate’ his very human-ness in the form of his personal qualities of ‘intelligence and proficiency’. Perhaps such a demonstration of ‘personal’ qualities is even meant to override the ‘stain’ of homosexuality. In both cases of claiming legitimacy as human and of demonstrating human-ness, there is an appeal to the ‘sameness’ of humans as the basis for enacting respect. However, while in the first case this ‘sameness’ is enacted in an assertive way, in the second one, it is enacted in a ‘demonstrating’ way. Whereas the assertive enactment of sameness directs attention to the ‘racist’ subject, giving rise to an agonistic enactment of respect (and thus of difference), the ‘demonstrating’ enactment shifts the focus to the ‘homosexual’ subject whose ‘human-ness’ is in question, eclipsing any overt enactment of respect and difference – which can, however, be regarded an implicit aspect of this enactment of sameness.

A consideration of these distinctive dynamics relates back to the discussion of Vinícius’ collages, where a ‘restless’ enactment of difference, which entangles the gay subject in a scenario of anxious self-interrogation, was contrasted with an ‘accusatory’ enactment of difference, which shifts the object of interrogation to society. Similarly here, ‘sameness’ is enacted with a focus on ‘racism’ in one case, and with a focus on the homosexual subject in the other. Both sameness and difference can thus be enacted in heterogeneous ways that *summon different effects with respect to the subjects involved and the locus and manner of intervention*. I want to end this chapter by highlighting some implications such a consideration of heterogeneous enactments has with respect to formations of agency and citizenship and the present interrogation of LGBT public security activism.

Implications for formations of citizenship and public security activism

The enactments of sameness and difference discussed in this chapter can be seen as expressive of agentic formations that are refracted through such issues around sameness and difference, which are of particular relevance to queer people (see Ch. 4). A consideration of how enactments of sameness and difference emerge from unfolding subjective-spatial relations has opened the view to a set of nuances and complexities involved in current formations of agency. Powerful norms around gender, sexuality, 'race' as well as morality shape these subjective-spatial relations and the enactments they give rise to. They can be understood as 'diagrams' that fix affective relations without however fully determining them. Agentic formations emerge in often paradoxical ways from such diagrams – as when Josué, Sasha, Nando and I indulge in the pleasure of transgression in our conversation on the veranda. The unfolding affective intensities, such as the *aconchego* and *ferro* in that case, play an integral role in such emergent formations of agency, although such formations are at the same time often fragmentary, contested and shot through with fears and uncertainties.

To the extent that an entitlement to stake claims to a space, community or collectivity is articulated through such enactments – a 'right to claim rights' –, these formations of agency can be further specified as formations of citizenship. Different kinds of enactments of respect turned out to be of great significance in relation to establishing and asserting belonging to a community and invoking effects of difference and sameness at the same time. Both, Sasha's caring enactment of respect and Josué's 'agonistic' enactment of respect are expressive of a sense of entitlement to stake claims to the local community in bairro B. They could thus be characterised as constitutive of formations of citizenship, even if the local scale of these formations needs to

be kept in mind. A consideration of how effects of sameness and difference emerge from unfolding subjective-spatial relations thus fosters an exploration of concrete formations of citizenship.

The mentioned formations of citizenship in bairro B emerge from intensities of *aconchego* that are at the same time reinforced through the very enactments of respect they give rise to. Importantly, these affective intensities cannot be reduced to the issues of 'home' and 'belonging', which relates back to the previous elaboration of 'geborgenheit' in Chapter 3. For instance, while the relations of *aconcheguing* and being *aconchegado* manifesting in Sasha's enactments of care are constitutive of a 'homely' sense of community and belonging, they are simultaneously constitutive of a 'neighbourly' relationality where differences coexist. In fact, the very idea of the 'neighbour' entails a difference with respect to 'home': A 'neighbourhood' is constituted of different 'homes' that 'belong' to different people – even if there can be a 'homely' sense of community and 'belonging' comprising the neighbourhood as a whole. Sasha *aconcheguing* and being *aconchegado* by neighbours can thus be seen simultaneously as an enactment of sameness and one of difference, as at the same time invoking a sense of home and a sense of *aconchego* that exceeds 'home'.

Different kinds of enactment, such as the 'accusatory' enactment expressed in Vinícius' collage are also of relevance to this discussion of agency and citizenship. The boy of Vinícius' remembrance, who is terrified by the monstrous city/society, appears as a stranger within his own city, whose status as legitimate citizen is cast into doubt by the stigmatising gaze of society.¹³⁹

¹³⁹ Shane Phelan's (2001) elaborations on this issue of 'strangeness' with respect to gays, lesbians and the question of 'citizenship' are useful here. Following Bauman (1991), she points out that 'strangers' are "not like enemies, who are clearly other; they both are and are not 'us'" (29). However, Phelan's argument is focused in particular around the potential of such 'strangeness' for challenging hegemonic social norms. My present concern, by contrast, is not exclusively with whether the 'strangeness' or 'alienation' expressed for instance in Vinícius' collage is 'challenging' or not, which seems to invoke a binary of 'domination' versus

This subjective-spatial relationality is contested to the extent that an accusatory enactment of difference takes shape that can be conceived of as a way of claiming citizenship and/or of denouncing the very monstrosity upon which the possibility of citizenship is founded. Vinícius' fearful relation to Rio de Janeiro's *Centro* moreover indicates the role that atmospheres and their affective intensities – as related here to the area's liveliness and heterogeneity – can play in the shaping of the subjective-spatial relations at play.¹⁴⁰ It would, however, also be possible to consider very different subjective-spatial relations unfolding in the 'same' spatial context. During Workshop I, a whole range of enactments unfolding in relation to Rio's *Centro* was expressed, although there is no space to discuss this here. A juxtaposition between fearful relations to public spaces as expressed in Vinícius' collages and the transgressive enactments unfolding in bairro B has at least indicated some of the contingent ways in which formations of agency and citizenship take shape as part of unfolding subjective-spatial relations.

A consideration of such contingently emerging formations of agency and citizenship can serve to open the view beyond prevalent concerns with the securitisation of vulnerable subjects. From the perspective developed here, the claim made by Carrara et al. (2003) that the experience of victimhood, of being discriminated, 'seems to be almost constitutive of homosexual identities' (see Ch. 6) appears to be in need of much further differentiation. The extent to which victimised 'homosexual identities' become an object of concern is contingent upon concrete enactments. While what I have called 'restless' and

'subversion' (which has been interrogated in Ch. 4). For me it rather seems important to gain a sense of the dynamics involved in the very constitution of enactments that invoke such 'strangeness' in the first place, so as to be able on this basis to consider their contingent effect with formations of agency and citizenship in a more nuanced way.

¹⁴⁰ In a similar vein, with respect to the mentioned paradox of diversity/tolerance and hostility as expressed in Vinícius' collage, it could be further discussed to what extent particular technologies of 'tolerance' and 'diversity', which form an integral part of how many contemporary cities are governed (e.g. Binnie and Skeggs 2004), are bound up with such spatial atmospheres, evoking joyful subjective-spatial relations for some groups, yet causing horror for others, who see through their inherent 'monstrosity'.

'demonstrative' enactments do in fact invoke a troubled homosexual subject, in other cases it is manifestations of 'homophobia' or 'racism' that emerge as targets of interrogation, rather than the 'homosexual identity' or 'self'. Moreover, in the case of the discussed playful, respectful and *aconchegante* enactments of difference and sameness, the deviance from norms is articulated in rather joyful ways. While forms of prejudice and discrimination are thereby not simply erased, they do not give rise to a victimised subjectivity. To what extent such subjectivities are constituted would thus need further analysis and cannot simply be derived from victimisation statistics. What these statistics elide are both the concrete enactments constituted in the face of or in response to violence and discrimination, as well as the affective dynamics that sustain these enactments.

Considering contingently unfolding enactments and their effects has further political implications, as such enactments and effects can also be discussed in relation to LGBT activism itself. For this purpose, however, it is necessary to further consider what kinds of enactments of sameness and difference emerge in the context of governmental activist approaches and what kinds of effects they summon. The following Chapter continues this line of interrogation.

9. PARADOXICAL ENACTMENTS IN ACTIVIST CONTEXTS

This chapter discusses enactments of sameness and difference in relation to contexts where the LGBT politics of public security has been engaged, in particular policing and LGBT parades. Both in relation to policing practices and to LGBT parades, public security politics have fostered enactments that are constitutive of particular formations of agency and citizenship. To an extent, these enactments and formations of agency and citizenship are shaped by biopolitical diagrams centred around ‘vulnerable subjects’ or the ‘LGBT population’. Yet, different kinds of enactments have also manifested in these contexts and have to an extent paradoxically emerged from the same activist engagements. A consideration of biopolitical diagrams as well as of affective dynamics of *aconchego* helps uncovering these intricate dynamics between powerful diagrams and excessive affective dynamics, and provides an understanding of the formations of agency and citizenship that emerge from them. The chapter thus folds the exploration of enactments of sameness and difference as developed in the previous chapter explicitly back into the LGBT politics of public security.

The chapter starts by taking a closer look at what has been considered a founding moment of the LGBT politics of public security, namely the opening of an LGBT anti-violence service centre at the State Office of Public Security in Rio de Janeiro – the ‘DDH’ (*Disque Defesa Homossexual*), which has already been mentioned in Chapter 6. A consideration of how the DDH came into being indicates some ways in which the politics of LGBT public security has given rise to new formations of citizenship in relation to different fields of activism. The chapter goes on to discuss some of these fields in more detail,

starting with a consideration of changing relations between queer people and the police. Queer people, it is argued, have become increasingly able to stake claims to the police as a public institution and thereby gained a new sense of citizenship. A number of concrete enactments of sameness and difference that are constitutive of such a sense of citizenship are explored and juxtaposed with enactments that dispense with a mobilisation of the police and instead affirm *aconchegante* community relations.

The chapter continues this line of argument by considering the role securitisation has played in relation to public events like LGBT parades. These events have been significant to the LGBT movement as they have been productive of a particular visibility of LGBT people as a collectivity claiming citizenship. Securitising technologies that incite or control participants' respectable conduct have played an important role in promoting and ensuring such a visibility. Some normalising effects of this mobilisation of security will be considered in order to indicate the particular diagrams on which the sense of citizenship emerging from LGBT parades is premised. This formation of citizenship is then juxtaposed with enactments that take place in contexts where biopolitical diagrams are not as pronounced. Paradoxically, however, such enactments are in part fostered by the same activist engagements that also mobilise biopolitical technologies of securitisation.

LGBT politics of public security in practice: Rio's DDH

Luis Eduardo Soares, the public security scholar referred to in Chapter 6, was Coordinator for Public Security of the State of Rio de Janeiro at the time when the DDH was initiated. The presence of this eminent figure in the engagement around the democratisation of public security formed part of the reason why

LGBT public security activism, in its contemporary form, emerged in Rio de Janeiro. The person of Soares formed not only a kind of bridge between the LGBT movement and the Office of Public Security, with his expertise in the field of public security he was also able to contribute significantly to the development of concrete policies and practices of relevance to the LGBT population.

Shortly before Soares came to office, the LGBT movement had been concerned with aggressions against gays in Rio's Botafogo and Ipanema districts and with the fact that the police was entirely unprepared to respond to these aggressions (Carrara & Ramos 2006: 193; Martins 2001: 43-4). As the carnival in February of 1999 was coming up, the movement and the State Coordinator for Public Security Soares came together to develop a specialised security concept for LGBT carnival events. As Soares (2000) reports, in February 1999, a Reference Centre against the Discrimination of Sexual Minorities (*Centro de Referência contra a Discriminação das Minorias Sexuais*) was set up at the Office for Public Security, which was meant to provide a forum where LGBT people, state actors, NGO representatives and also police representatives could meet and discuss possibilities for a new organisation of the public security apparatus in Rio de Janeiro. Soares mentions that in this forum specific types, situations and places of risk were mapped, police practices were interrogated, and the question was discussed of how homophobic violence could effectively be addressed. In the context of this articulation between the movement, the Secretary's Office, NGOs and further involved actors a collaborative process began that lead up to the creation of the DDH (Ramos and Carrara 2006: 193; Soares 2006: 172).

Hildeberto Martins (2001), who followed the events as an ethnographic participant observer, notes that for activists, the DDH marked an historical moment, since for the first time they saw very real chances for intervening into

the security apparatus that queers had long been suffering from. It is also safe to assume that the new scaling of engagements to the level of state politics was seen as a symbolic upgrading of activism and played a vital part in the redefinition of activism in terms of advocacy and protagonist involvement – rather than marginality and victimhood.

Soares, after being dismissed from his position in 2000,¹⁴¹ wrote a book on his experiences in office (Soares 2000). In this book, he notes that tackling the issue of homosexuality played a paramount role in the democratisation of the police. In a macho society, Soares contends, an engagement with homosexuality could open up a pathway for developing a progressive engagement with difference:

We were convinced that the struggle against homophobia was a sort of synthesis of our program of police reform, and even, in a broader sense, of our security politics – without diminishing the centrality of the combat of racism, which for us should also receive prioritised attention. [...] Instead of passing on the message that we would like to have police forces that would be so civilised [*civilizados*] as to respect sexual minorities in appropriate ways, I think we should pass on the message that respect for sexual minorities will make our police institutions better and capable of behaving in a civilised manner and of acting with efficiency. Instead of respect being a consequence of reform, it becomes an instrument for change and the condition of reform. (155-6)

The problems of the state security apparatus are for Soares to a great extent linked to its violent macho ethos that brings with it a devaluation of everything

¹⁴¹ The concrete cause of Soares' dismissal by governor Anthony Garotinho, which happened live on a TV program, was Soares' alleged defence of a film-maker that was said to pay a drug dealer (http://pt.wikipedia.org/wiki/Luiz_Eduardo_Soares). The actual reasons, however, seem to be related to Soares' active opposition to established practices in the area of public security (see Brandão 2000). His denunciation of Rio's civil police as 'rotten band' (*banda podre*) became notorious.

deviating from hegemonic masculinity. Engaging positively with homosexuality, for him, bears a potential for countering this ethos, epitomising and synthesising the broader project of democratising security. Soares' emphasis on 'respect' as "an instrument for change" is interesting here, as it relates to the discussion around struggles for respect in the previous chapter. As we shall see later on, the instigation of such uses of respect as indicated by Soares can be considered as one of the effects the LGBT politics of public security has had on formations of agency and citizenship.

A comic incident recounted by Soares illustrates the potential impact of positively engaging with sexual minorities in relation to the police. The incident happened during the carnival preparations in February of 1999, when the LGBT politics of public security began to take shape. The General Commander of the Military Police passed a document with a gay carnival map on to an assistant who was supposed to fax it to all involved battalions. As the Commander became aware of a potential misunderstanding, he rushed to stop the document being faxed and wrote on it by hand: 'THE ORDER IS TO PROTECT GAYS AT THESE PLACES – NOT TO REPRESS THEM' (Soares 2000: 170). For Soares, this incident epitomises the impact the engagement with homophobia may have within the police as it disturbs routines and causes public security actors to re-consider their practices. Moreover, the incident signals the moment of a discursive shift, where homosexuality starts to be engaged positively within the institutional field of public security, simultaneously illustrating how pervasive homophobia must have been (or still is) within the military police.

As a further noteworthy event, Soares points out a meeting between *travestis* and a military police colonel at a battalion in the Centre of Rio that has had a dire history of humiliating and extorting *travestis* from poor backgrounds, particularly when encountering them on the streets as sex workers. Soares

quotes an entry from Silvia Ramos' field diary, whom I also referred to in Chapter 6, and who formed part of Soares team, coordinating the meeting:

A soldier enters the room, balancing a tray with glasses of water and little cups of coffee. The nervous jingling of the crockery denounces the astonishment of the young policemen. The *travestis*, as if they didn't leave any detail of the visit go unnoticed, face to face with every policeman, drink the water and coffee with pleasure and certainty.

(Soares 2000: 171-2)

The meeting as recounted by Ramos throws into relief a new sense of citizenship the LGBT politics of public security brought about, and announces the possibility of a new relationality between queer people and the police. A soldier literally serves the *travestis*, which evokes simultaneously nervousness on the part of the former and gratification on the part of the latter, as the positions of both – at least temporarily and symbolically – change radically.

Several further events could be mentioned in this context. In March of 1999, for instance, Cláudio Nascimento, at the time the president of the Brazilian LGBT Association (ABGLT), gave a talk on homosexuality for Rio's Civil Police – the allegedly first talk of this kind in Brazil – which was followed by courses organised by the Reference Centre reaching 3.500 military police men and women (Soares 2000). The setting up of the Reference Centre against the Discrimination of Sexual Minorities and the DDH indicates that engagements with policing and the securitisation of LGBT events (such as the mentioned carnival events, but also LGBT parades) have been formative of the LGBT politics of public security. Soares' argument that sexual minorities' demand for respect serves as an 'instrument for change' in policing practices forms an overarching rationale, at least from his perspective as an intellectual and politician striving for a democratisation of public security. In what follows, I want to further consider these two contexts, shifting the focus, however,

from changing policing practices to formations of agency and citizenship as they take shape for queer people.

Gaining citizenship through the police?

The LGBT politics of public security bear not only a potential for changing policing practices, as Soares contends, but have the effect of changing relations between queer people and the police, as queer people may increasingly feel entitled to rely on the police for their own protection and to denounce police misbehaviour. More broadly speaking, such shifting relations between queer people and the police might foster among queer people a sense of being entitled to stake claims to the police as a public institution providing securitisation. This is of great relevance in the present context, as such a sense of being entitled to public security services might transform queer people's relations to public institutions and public life more broadly. It can foster a new sense of citizenship, a sense of being a legal and political subject with the right to stake claims to public institutions such as the police.

Being able to mobilise the police for one's security seems to have particular significance for queer people, firstly, because they can be said to have particular needs for securitisation due to hostilities they face in their daily lives, and, secondly, because the police have arguably themselves been agents of such hostilities, making it particularly difficult for queer people to stake positive claims to them. A statement by Josué during the 5th session of Workshop II illustrates the dilemma this engenders: "Here it's like... if there's police, I'm not confident [*não confio*] because there is police; and if there is no police I'm not confident because there is no police." '*Não confio*' refers to the respective place and situation that Josué states to distrust. He is talking here

about walking the streets of Nova Iguaçu at night and why he does not participate in gay cruising in semi-public places. If there is 'no police', or no effective crime prevention more broadly, gay men and other queer people may feel at the mercy of violent assaults, in particular in situations where they expose themselves. If there is police, however, this problem is displaced by another one, namely by the fact that police may themselves commit violence against queer people.

In view of this dilemma of being particularly vulnerable to violence yet also feeling particularly excluded from public securitisation, feeling entitled to mobilise the police might foster a new sense of citizenship especially among queer people. However, the conditions under which queer people turn to the police are contingent, and so are the effects of mobilising public security. Moran and Skeggs (2004) note in their discussion of safety:

Little research exists on the context in which lesbians and gay men resort to the state services of safety and security. Much more research is needed to understand how and when law and criminal justice paradigms come into play in lesbian and gay attempts to make sense of violence and safety management; it is in this context that their failure is most acute. (54)

Moran and Skeggs' point about the lack of research regarding the concrete circumstances under which lesbians and gays – and other queer people – mobilise state security is also pertinent to the Brazilian context. The authors conjecture that an 'acute failure' manifests in 'law and criminal justice paradigms' when such concrete circumstances are considered. As explained in Chapter 6, I frame what Moran and Skeggs call 'law and criminal justice paradigms' (or 'crime paradigm') in terms of a biopolitical diagram that constitutes queer people as 'vulnerable' subjects in need of governmental protection and care. The question of 'failures' of such paradigms can

accordingly be differentiated in terms of concrete normalising effects. The emergence of a sense of entitlement, then, might come at the cost of having to perform a 'respect-able' citizen as well as of narrowly focusing on the state as provider of security. Moreover, such an emergent sense of entitlement is complicated by ongoing experiences of violence and discrimination committed by the police, which in particular queer people living in disadvantaged areas seem to make.

An exploration of contingently unfolding subjective-spatial relations helps to throw into relief some of these complexities involved in the constitution of a sense of citizenship as related to, as well as in excess of, staking claims to the police. I will focus in particular on LGBT activists' narratives. The perspective of staking claims to the police tends to be particularly pronounced in activists' narratives due to activists' political involvement. To the extent that they are used to making claims of citizenship in a range of contexts, activists may also have a strong sense of being entitled to mobilise the police for the protection of LGBT people, including themselves.

An activist sense of entitlement

Daniel, a gay activist of Grupo Arco-Íris, expresses a positive relation towards the police as he talks about walking Rio de Janeiro's *Centro*. The statement is taken from a focus group discussion I facilitated at Grupo Arco-Íris in Rio May 2007 and in which two lesbians and four gays participated. In the discussion, I ask how people would feel and behave in a situation in *Centro* when it is getting dark, the shops are closing, the city centre is emptying out, and the police are present; would the police's presence be seen as positive or

negative. Daniel replies by envisioning this scenario in some more detail, describing a route he sometimes takes in this kind of situation when he is in the *Cinelândia* area of *Centro*, the surroundings of which are deserted after closing time. On his return, he says, he often goes via Rua do Lavradio, where there are open shops and bars, and which leads to Lapa. He explains that he prefers this route to another one, also “because there is a police battalion on one side, and there is a women’s police station on the other side, so I feel safer there”. Moreover, he says: “If there was a police car, I’d feel safer because there are lots of beggars, people sleeping.”

In Daniel’s account, the police appear in a decidedly positive light, playing a significant role in his favouring a particular route through the city. As regards his reference to police patrolling, the police seem to divert fears that in this case are not related specifically to homophobic violence but rather to the presence of beggars and homeless people. While it is not clear whether there is any actual threat involved, his account insinuates that it is obvious that the police would protect him from these people, which stages him as an ‘ordinary citizen’ entitled to be protected from “beggars, sleeping people”, who might threaten any ‘ordinary citizen’. This gives an indication of Daniel’s sense of entitlement to citizenship, which in this case is framed independently of his being gay. Yet, Daniel also mentions a police station specialised in attending to women (DEAM), that employs police officers who are trained in issues around gender relations and sexual violence as suffered by women (see also Ch. 6). DEAM’s have been said to deal with gay and trans people’s issues in a better way than ordinary police stations, which might be part of the reason while Daniel seems to have particular trust in this kind of police institution.

Daniel’s account can thus be seen as expressive of a claim to ‘ordinary’ citizenship that simultaneously asserts ‘difference’ – it is expressive of an enactment of difference and sameness at the same time. Moreover, this

account highlights the role that public security activism might play in the constitution of such an enactment that relies on the police. In his work for Arco-Íris, Daniel has been actively involved in the development of public security politics in Rio de Janeiro. His knowledge about different police stations might ensue from this involvement. Moreover, as an activist experienced in making claims to citizenship, Daniel seems to be particularly confident in mobilising the police to his own protection, even as a gay man.

The fact that such a posture is not necessarily shared by other queer people emerges as the group discussion goes on. Tiago, who lives in a favela, explains his quite different relation to the police: “I have been searched a lot in the favela, when I go out... like... a bit effeminate – they already took 10 Reais, 5 Reais off me – they really take it!” Problems with the police are related here in particular to forms of expression that challenge common gender norms. He goes on: “And they search all of us, touching, coming close. I think this is a lack of (respect)!” Being in a group does not seem to improve the situation (as a statement by Josué commented on in Ch. 9 suggested), as the police are said to also search a whole group in disrespectful ways. As Tiago states, “So their objective is also to steal,” Daniel comes in: “You have to take down the number plate of their vehicle and make a denunciation at the police station afterwards.” In this statement, a claim-making posture is very pronounced, which seems to be at least partly related to Daniel’s experience as an activist. In this case, however, we also need to take into account that Daniel himself lives in one of Rio de Janeiro’s South Zone middle-class neighbourhoods, and might feel more assertive about his rights simply because he is used to more respectful police behaviour in this environment. Moreover, for Tiago the situation might be particularly difficult as he sometimes goes out ‘effeminate’, whereby s_he gains visibility as gay or trans.

Differences in the ways in which queer people relate to the police are pronounced in this conversation. Daniel's statement again expresses a sense of being entitled to stake claims to the police. Daniel might not even assume that making a denunciation will have any practical effects; what seems important is rather the action of staking a claim itself and the sense of entitlement this expresses. The statement invokes the queer subject who is searched in disrespectful ways and robbed by the police as a subject entitled to receive the respect of public authorities and as potentially capable of openly demanding this respect. Again, the statement is expressive of an enactment of both sameness and difference that ensues from the claiming of respect in relation to the police. While the subject's queer gender expression is positively asserted, giving rise to an affirmation of difference, a status of ordinary citizenship is simultaneously invoked, framing this enactment also as one of sameness. As in some of the enactments discussed in the previous chapter, an 'agonistic' moment is involved in this claiming of respect, as Daniel recommends to directly respond to the police officer's misbehaviour by making a denunciation. Possibilities of staking claims to the police, then, can be seen as being premised on a sense of entitlement, which might get enhanced through activist experiences such as Daniel's.

Shifting relations between queer people and the police

In my interviews with activists from different parts of Brazil, I gained an overall picture that since the 1980s policing practices in relation to queer people have significantly changed, at least in the more central or privileged areas of cities. Talking about Curitiba in the state of Paraná, where he lives and works, Toni Reis mentions a change in police violence since the early 1990s,

making reference here to his experiences at the local LGBT organisation Grupo Dignidade (Group Dignity):

Toni: Here, for example, we can say that it [police violence] diminished a lot. ((Simon: Uhum)) In 92, uhm... we received, like... twenty complaints of discrimination on the part of the police that had to do with extortions, ((Simon: uhum)) with beating, with uhm... in cruising places, ((Simon: uhum)) places of... The police would beat and ((Simon: uhum)) take the money. And now we... I think it has been one year that we haven't had a single complaint (...). ((Simon: Uhum))

The fact that Grupo Dignidade did not receive any complaints about police misbehaviour during that period does, of course, not mean that there were no problems. Yet, Reis' comparison still gives an indication that violence and discrimination on the part of the police have diminished during the past decades.

In the context of Rio de Janeiro, my interview with Roxane, a *travesti* activist aged 34, indicates a similar development. Commenting on the central and South Zone areas of the city of Rio de Janeiro, Roxane points out a shift in policing practices with respect to *travesti* sex workers. Up to the 1990s, she points out, policing used to be characterised by a great degree of arbitrariness. She explains: "And sometimes an inadequate conduct of a *travesti* really is an inadequate conduct of... of some *travestis*, and when they got punished, the collective got punished ((Simon: uhum))." Roxane points to the problem of collective punishment, where in cases of individual criminal offences "the collective got punished". She specifies: "Apart from (...) being shown in... on TV – the officer comes, stops, blocks the whole street, puts everyone [*travesti* sex workers] into the police van, searches them, you know? beats them." She goes on by stating: "And today I think that (...) we don't see this anymore. We see cases where who is punished is that person ((Simon: uhum)) as criminal."

Roxane thus marks a shift from arbitrariness on the part of the police to legitimate intervention (with respect to what she sees as “really an inadequate conduct”). This change is significant as it moves beyond the mere absence of police violence and entails a shift in the position of *travestis* from subjects of arbitrary police violence to ordinary legal subjects. According to this account, *travestis*, within the spatial context Roxane is talking about, are increasingly able to see the police as an institution that respects their legal rights as citizens, which also means that *travestis* might become able to mobilise the law and the police for their own purposes.

One has to be careful about generalising such an account, however, as current experiences of *travesti* sex workers would need to be explored in more detail. An issue that Roxane highlights herself concerns a spatial difference between the state of Rio de Janeiro and the Baixada Fluminense, where violence against *travesti* sex workers has been particularly severe. However, at least from her position as an activist who has been campaigning for *travesti* sex workers in central Rio and who is furthermore working for a public institution, Roxane sees the police now as an institution that in relation to *travestis* has started to perform the kind of work they are legally meant to perform.

Further examples could be provided. What I want to highlight, however, is that the activists I interviewed saw an improvement in policing practices, which is expressive of a more positive relation to public institutions that are associated with enabling forms of citizenship. As suggested earlier, shifts in relations between queer people and the police might be particularly pronounced in activists’ accounts, to the extent that activists have a developed sense of being entitled to public security and citizenship. In this respect, LGBT public security activism might not only have an effect in terms of changing police practices, but also in intensifying such a sense of entitlement. It needs to be said, however, that most of the activists I spoke to do not live in or focus

their political activities on favelas, where relations with the police seem to continue to be much more problematic. Activists living in favelas have moreover pointed out that a politics relying on state provision of security has little purchase in places where parallel regimes of government, such as those articulated around drug gangs, deal with issues of violence.¹⁴² In contexts where the police are not the ones who are taking care of issues around security, a part of these politics might lose its relevance.

I now want to consider a further case that brings out how claims made with respect to the police do or do not feature in the formation of agency and citizenship depending on concrete subjective-spatial relations. More specifically, the case enables a juxtaposition of enactments of sameness and difference that emerge from a mobilisation of the police on the one hand and an affirmation of particular kinds of *aconchegante* community relations on the other, highlighting different kinds of effects summoned by different enactments of sameness and difference.

Juxtaposing securitisation and aconchego

The case I want to discuss is an incident recounted by Sasha, the gay/trans activist from 'barrio B' in the Baixada Fluminense, during the conversation we had as Josué, Nando and I visited Sasha at his house (see Ch. 8). Sasha recounts an incident that happened while a friend of his, Jorge, who lives in the centre of Nova Iguaçu, came for a visit. Jorge is active in Grupo 28 de Junho in Nova Iguaçu, so himself a gay activist. Sasha's account of the incident is interesting as it involves two activists responding quite differently to a threat,

¹⁴² I am referring in particular to conversations with LGBT activists from a *favela* in Rio de Janeiro that I had on January 2010.

which brings out differences in the respective constitution of subjective-spatial relations that also have implications for enactments of sameness and difference that do or do not rely on a mobilisation of the police.

Sasha recounts how, while both were in a place near bairro B, two boys, or young men, threatened to throw stones at Jorge, and potentially also at Sasha himself. It is not clear why they threaten Jorge, but it is quite likely related to his being gay; possibly some interaction took place beforehand where this became explicit. As the boys threaten to throw stone, Sasha recounts, Jorge starts to run, saying, "I'm going to the police station!". This response might be related to the experience Jorge has made in mobilising the police for the purposes of LGBT people in his activism in Nova Iguaçu. From my conversation with Jorge, I know, for instance, that he has attended various meetings of local 'community councils' articulating demands for LGBT people. He also mentioned cases where he denounced assaults on gays and trans people to the police. Jorge's reaction can be said to express an enactment of both sameness – where his sense of entitlement to mobilise the police as citizen manifests – and of difference – as he seems willing to confront the issue of homosexuality which might be brought up if he goes to the police.

A particular effect of this enactment as it emerges from his running for the police station is that Jorge, as he appears as a citizen entitled to stake a claim to public security, at the same time reinforces a position of a vulnerable subject in need of state protection. This becomes clearer when we juxtapose Jorge's reaction with Sasha's, which is markedly different. Instead of reacting in a similar way, Sasha, as he recounts the experience, indicates that he joined the boys in laughing at Jorge:

And then, one of the boys wanted to throw stones (...). Then, the boys started to laugh, but he [Jorge] was running and I started to laugh.

Because I saw that it wasn't anything like that. (...) 'I'm going to the police station!'. I said, 'Jorge, stop that!'

Sasha's laughter while his friend is being threatened with stones might seem grotesque. However, Sasha mentions that he "saw that it wasn't anything like that", anything serious demanding such a reaction. This becomes clearer when I ask

Simon: But they didn't throw stones in order to (...) to hurt, to=

Sasha: No, no. It's that kind of thing – because I lived there. ((Simon: uhum)) I knew all the boys, ((Nando: aha)) I even made out with this one who wanted to make trouble, cus I lived with him=

Sasha points not only to his familiarity with the place and people, but also to the fact that he knew the trouble-maker personally and had an intimate relation with him. This indicates an entirely different subjective-spatial relationality unfolding here for Sasha as compared to Jorge. While Jorge runs for the police and thus asserts his status as victim in need of state protection, Sasha asserts his intimate relation with the community, rendering such an invocation of victimhood and the police laughable. I want to discuss this relationality expressed by Sasha further, as it highlights how an enactment emerges that has quite different effects than the one of actualising a position of a vulnerable subject – although it is not without its problems.

In Sasha's statement, the public space of the street, where a gay man is threatened by apparently homophobic boys, now intersects with a much more private space of intimate and sexual relations ("I even made out with this one" [*"namorei com esse"*]/"I lived with him"). In Chapter 8, it was mentioned that Sasha recounts several episodes about guys from the area that he and other '*bichas*' have sex with; and as pointed out in Chapter 2, sexual relations between effeminate *bichas* and masculine *bofes*, who may publicly lead a heterosexual life,

are not uncommon in Brazil. Sasha further mentions that sometimes gay men in the area reward or pay 'straight' men with gifts or by letting them live in their homes. The existence of such erotic relations forms the backdrop to Sasha's claim to have made out and lived with one of the boys. His familiarity with the boys as such, however, does not fully warrant Sasha's judgement of the situation as harmless, since Sasha also talks about robberies and killings of gay men that happened in the context of such intimate *bicha-bofe* relations in bairro B. His familiarity with the boy who wanted to throw stones can rather be seen as forming a facet of Sasha's broader assertion of familiarity with the place, as indicated by the formulation "because I lived there".

This assertion of familiarity enables Sasha to respond in an entirely different way to the apparent threat than Jorge. Instead of running for the police, Sasha invokes possibilities of fighting back or even educating the boys:

Sasha: There is always a little idiot there. ((Simon: Ah, ok.)) But this

idiot -- if you scream at him twice he shuts up. ((Nando: Aha))

You see? You're not gonna scream in a place that's far away and dark, but during the day you scream at him like that, and he stops, you see?

Sasha's claim, "if you scream at him twice he shuts up", resonates with Josué's statement about 'commanding respect' cited in Chapter 8. In fact, we could talk here, along the same lines, about an 'agonistic enactment of difference' that is situated in the context of intimate community relations. Struggling for, or even 'commanding', respect can be seen as forming part of ordinary enactments that take place in the context of an *aconchegante* sense of familiarity and community. This kind of enactment is simultaneously bound to a sense of 'publicness', which is indicated by the statement: "You're not gonna scream in a place that's far away and dark, but during the day you scream at him like that, and he stops, you see?" The act of 'screaming at him' seems here not to be

directed solely at the boy, but staged as a legitimate 'public' contestation, as it is dependent on the fact that it does not occur "in a place that's far away and dark", i.e. publicly present and visible. While it is not specified here who exactly the 'public' invoked might involve, what seems important is the fact that this contestation takes place 'in public', which means that it is being addressed to a wider audience and not just to the aggressor. A 'public' in the shape of the local community is thus invoked which is expected to exert some kind of pressure on the aggressor.

In view of his account of *bichas* having been killed in the context of intimate relations with *bofes* in bairro B, however Sasha can also be seen as being *in need of* asserting a sense familiarity and respectability, as this is what makes it possible for him to 'laugh away' such potential threats. As in the previous discussion around respect and care in Chapter 8, Sasha's claiming of respect is intricate and even precarious in the present case. While this enactment is enabled by a particular kind of community relations, it is simultaneously dependent on them. In this sense, familiarity and respect, *aconchego* even, are not givens but also depend on Sasha's continuous and public enactment of them, making sure his performance of familiarity and confidence prevents others to even think of him as someone who could be attacked or repressed. The *aconchego* of the community, then, has to be summoned and intensified, but also maintained through the precariously balanced and continuous enactment of sameness and difference. Affective intensities of *aconchego*, in other words, are being affirmed as part of an unfolding subjective-spatial relationality that renders public securitisation redundant, yet is simultaneously premised on a precarious balance; meaning the active invocation of familiarity can in the worst case lead to inviting rather than averting threats.

The juxtaposition of Jorge's and Sasha's reactions, then, brings out particular affective dynamics as well as effects related to enactments of sameness and difference that emerge from the mobilisation of public security on the one hand and an affirmation of *aconchegante* community relations on the other. These effects have implications for the respective formations of agency and citizenship taking shape. Jorge appears as a citizen who is entitled to stake claims to public security and to mobilise security in the face of threats, yet at the same time needs to take flight and thus also appears as a victim and vulnerable subject. Sasha, on the other hand, is able to dispense with public security and rejects a status of victimhood or vulnerability. A different sense of citizenship is expressed here, which relates to his assertion of being a respectable member of the *aconchegante* community, where he asserts belonging and respectability. While this formation of citizenship does not rely on public securitisation and indicates possibilities of joyfully inhabiting the space where he lives, it seems to be precarious in view of the continuous work needed to maintain it and the potential threats that might still be involved.

Part of the reason for the different enactments seems to be related to differences in Jorge's and Sasha's familiarity with the place, and in particular Sasha's ongoing practices of establishing respectful community relations, as discussed in Chapter 8. It could be further discussed to what extent a mobilisation of the police does not seem viable for Sasha as this might trouble such respectful relations, being regarded a breach to the *aconchegante* intimacy of the community. Furthermore, while Jorge, as pointed out earlier, seems to have made some positive experiences that relate to his public security activism, Sasha shows a more general distrust in relation to the police, which seems to be related to less openness regarding the concerns of queer people in bairro B as compared to Nova Iguaçu. As I ask Sasha about the local situation of public security and the police, he replies that this is "a question of culture", by which

he means the existence of a problematic police culture that is related to a lack of educated-ness among members of the police. Sasha has little hope about actually democratising or humanising the police. “You can count on your fingers who [of the police] from here respects us”, he says, “because in the early morning [*na madrugada*], if they can do it, they do it.” By “they can do it”, I take Sasha to mean ‘abusing queer people’. In the twilight between night and day the police can do whatever they want. As a synecdoche, this moment of ‘*madrugada*’ or ‘twilight’ could moreover refer to a whole range of betwixt situations that elude formal accountability. Sasha’s statement highlights that while on a political level it might be possible to stake claims to the institution around more democratic forms of policing, in practice the ways in which queer and other people might actually be able to change their relation to the police are highly fragmented.

The juxtaposition of these different enactments, then, brings out some of the intricacies involved both in formations of citizenship that emerge from efforts of securitisation and in formations that emerge from particular affective dynamics of *aconchego*. Both formations considered here can be regarded as double-edged swords that open up ways of responding to threats, yet also have problematic effects with respect to the subjects involved and the unfolding subjective-spatial relations. An understanding of such concrete possibilities and problems emerging from different kinds of enactments of sameness and difference seems vital to a discussion of the potentials and limits of public security activism. While the precarity of Sasha’s enactments might indicate a need for viable responses to violence, which could involve particular forms of public securitisation, -focusing on staking claims to public security introduces its own problems and cannot always be considered feasible or even desirable. Moreover, the respectful, caring and agonistic enactments of sameness and

difference taking shape in bairro B are themselves constitutive of agentic possibilities that are worth appreciating.

I now want to consider a further field where the LGBT politics of public security has been engaged, namely public LGBT events. I will again draw on Sasha's narrative in order to juxtapose heterogeneous enactments unfolding in public LGBT events.

Formations of citizenship in the context of LGBT parades

The earlier discussion of how Rio's DDH came into being already indicated the integral role that a securitisation of public LGBT events has played in the formation of the LGBT politics of public security. A policy proposal approved during at the 1st National LGBT Conference in Brasília, June 2008, further highlights this issue. The proposal reads:

Guaranteeing safety in areas frequented by LGBT people with specialised police units, especially where there is a great incidence of discrimination related to sexual orientation and identity of gender, race and ethnicity (among others), providing policing proportional to the number of people at events (Secretaria Especial dos Direitos Humanos 2008: 31).

The proposal with the number 20, which appears in the section on "Criminal Justice and Public Security" (*Justiça and Segurança Pública*) brings out clearly that the police are asked – not only to refrain from hostilities towards queer people – but to take a proactive role in their protection by performing specialised policing at LGBT events. Again, a stake is being claimed to the police as a public resource in the struggle against violence and discrimination and in favour of LGBT citizenship. In the case of public events, however, a particular

issue emerges that has to do with the public visibility of queer people, who are being summoned in LGBT activism as a collectivity striving for LGBT citizenship. The questions of subjects' freedom from discrimination and harm and their entitlement to citizenship are complemented – or even displaced – by the question of the collectivity's visibility.

This significance of a particular visibility is most obvious in relation to LGBT parades, which since the late 1990s have taken place in a range of cities and towns all over the country.¹⁴³ A statement by ABGLT president Reis on LGBT parades, which appeared in an article of *Jornal do Brasil*, indicates the significance of this issue of visibility:

As the LGBT movement became organised and started to promote events of massive visibility, it also started to gain its space within society. [...] The parades lend visibility to the LGBT community and its various demands as a segment of society that is estimated to count 20 million Brazilian citizens and that still does not enjoy full citizenship. The repercussion of the parades can be seen in the extension of public politics for this segment, as well as in the debate concerning the issue [i.e. LGBT issues] in society as a whole, which serves to diminish the [prevalent] stigma and to demystify the diverse manifestations of sexuality. (Reis 2009)

Through the visibility LGBT parades lend to the 'LGBT community', they are considered to extend LGBT politics as well as to promote a positive image of LGBT people that serves to diminish stigmatisation and the 'mystification' of sexuality. (We might further add the potential effect of demystifying transgender expressions, as the 'T' of the mentioned 'LGBT community' is not being addressed by Reis.) Formations of citizenship emerge here from an

¹⁴³ The Brazilian LGBT Association (ABGLT) lists nearly 250 parades for 2009 (<http://www.abglt.org.br/port/paradas2009.php>; accessed on 23 Jan. 10).

imagined 'LGBT community' gaining positive visibility through public events, as this visibility is constitutive of claims to public politics and expressive of 'gaining space within society'. Commonly, particular demands have also been articulated through these events, and in recent years the slogan 'criminalisation of homophobia' in support of the 'hate crime' legislation project (see Ch. 6) was central.

As we shall see in the following, in events such as LGBT parades, public securitisation is being mobilised, not only or even mainly for the security of LGBT subjects, but rather in favour of a particular visibility of 'LGBT people' as an imagined collectivity claiming citizenship. This mobilisation of public security forms part of a biopolitical diagram, where LGBT people's positive visibility is simultaneously dependent on LGBT subjects performing the role of respectable citizens.

Biopolitical securitisation at LGBT parades

The announcements of both LGBT parades and LGBT carnival events by Rio's LGBT movement have in recent years been accompanied by explanations of the public security concept as well as behavioural advice to participants. The program of the 2009 LGBT parade events published by Grupo Arco-Íris, for instance, includes a section entitled "Advice on health, security and transport". It starts out:

The Rio LGBT Parade is a moment of joy [*alegría*] and citizenship.

When we talk about citizenship, we refer to everyone's *rights* and *duties*.

Everyone has a right to liberty; however, we have a duty to protect ourselves from situations which can cause us problems. Therefore, we give the following pieces of advice so that you enjoy yourself with

security [*para você se divertir com segurança*]. (Grupo Arco-Íris 2009: w/o pages; emphasis in the orig.)

This statement addresses participants as subjects of citizenship in a double sense. The parade is called ‘a moment of joy and citizenship’, so participants have the privilege of participating in and contributing to a moment where LGBT citizenship is publicly and overtly put in the limelight. Simultaneously, participants are invoked as subjects of ‘rights and duties’, the terms with which the notion of ‘citizenship’ is explained in the text. It is in particular the ‘duties’ that are highlighted in this section on advice, which calls subjects to manage themselves according to particular needs of securitisation. ‘Citizenship’ as a characteristic ‘moment’ of the parade is thus premised on the participants becoming subjects of governmentality, managing themselves to ensure the event’s positive visibility.

Among the advice given, there are recommendations such as not to drive after drinking, to use public transportation if possible, and to take along only the money that is necessary, so as to avoid losing larger sums through theft. A further advice reads: “[...] If you hear about any provocation or something that is outside the law, make a denunciation to at the tents of the event and the police points. [...]” The intention behind this advice might be to ensure the possibility of timely interventions in the case of violent assaults. Yet, with the advice to denounce anything “that is outside the law” the net is simultaneously widened in a way that the question of its concrete purpose arises. ‘Something that is outside the law’ could refer for instance to minors drinking alcohol or someone smoking marijuana, which as such might not put other participants at risk. In giving this advice, parade organisers speak less from the position of a collectivity putting their claims to citizenship in the limelight, but rather from a position of governing subjects. Such a governmental position, however, is at the same time integral to the ways in

which claims to citizenship are being made, as activities that are ‘outside the law’ can, from the perspective of parade organisers, be considered as detrimental to the event’s positive visibility and hence to the successful staging of citizenship.

Another advice reads: “Walking naked at home is great. On the street, this is an affront to decency [*atentado ao pudor*].” This advice needs to be understood on the backdrop that in particular some *travestis* have at various LGBT parades in the past taken off their shirts and shown their breasts in public. The organisers make it clear that such behaviour is not considered acceptable. This is an intricate issue, as especially for *travestis* who earn their money through sex work and for this purpose modify their bodies through plastic surgery or the use of silicone, the body itself acquires great significance and showing it in public can also be considered a way of claiming visibility. There have also been debates around whether in the case of *travestis*, who commonly have ‘male’ identities in official documents, taking off the shirt can be considered an ‘affront to decency’ at all, as they would officially present ‘male’ breasts, which according to official legislation, could not be considered an affront to decency. What is more, the legal situation in this case is not as clear as the text suggests. As Sell (2009) points out discussing women’s ‘topless’ sunbathing, whether this falls under the article in the Brazilian legislation referred to is not clearly defined, but rather situated in a legally grey zone.¹⁴⁴ In the Brazilian context, women’s ‘topless’ sunbathing on public beaches, for instance, has been prosecuted, so the organisers’ statement has official backing. At the same time, the question arises why they should favour the position of current legal practice over participants’ wishes of making certain public expressions. A possible answer to this question is that a public

¹⁴⁴ The relevant passage is Article 233 of the Penal Code, which talks about ‘practicing an obscene act in a place that is public, open or exposed to the public’ (see Sell 2009).

image of the LGBT parade as abounding in 'public affronts to decency' would jeopardise the success of the parade and its visibility as a whole, within the governmental framework in which it is situated.

Some of my interviews bring out further this issue around securitisation and visibility. My interviewee Isaías, for instance, is the coordinator of a private security firm that was contracted by Grupo Arco-Íris for providing security at Rio's 2007 LGBT parade at Copacabana. As priorities in securitisation, which are tailored towards the assumed demands of the firm's employer Grupo Arco-Íris, Isaías mentions the first three parade trucks where celebrities were standing, and the big rainbow flag, which is the event's main symbol. This prioritisation indicates that it was not so much the security of participants themselves that formed the central concern – which would be challenging anyway, given an expected number of over a million participants –, but rather the image of the parade, as the celebrities and the flag were the elements that enjoyed most visibility.

An interview with Marco, Grupo Arco-Íris coordinator of that year's parade security, confirms the prioritisation of the event's visibility, and in particular the significance of the rainbow flag and the governor's presence at the parade. Moreover, this interview indicates that securitising the event's visibility can even involve acting against participants, which brings out this prioritisation in a particularly pronounced way. Marcos mentions the case of a past event where a *travesti* was on top of one of the parade trucks and lifted her dress, showing her penis. He recounts:

Marco: So I went there with another volunteer and she said she was not going to leave the truck because she was invited by the truck owner [...] and, with her dick hanging out, swinging, jumping. [...] With tits of 'that' size, you know? Something like from Jean Genet. [Both laughing] And I took her and she said she

was not going to leave. And I: "Oh, you are going to leave."

((Simon: uhum)) So I turned around, put her with the back towards the stairs and pushed her, and the guy got her down there and 'buff' – out of the truck ((Simon: uhum)) That was it, you know?

As in other LGBT parades, the Rio parade features trucks with an open roof on which people dance and interact with the audience. Someone taking out their 'dick' in this prominent position is not tolerable for the organisers, as – even more than *travesti*'s or women's 'topless' – this can be seen as an affront to decency. The fact that in this case the 'trouble-maker' is a *travesti* seems to aggravate the situation, as it is someone who at the same time has large tits – a scenario that reminds Marco of the French writer Jean Genet, an icon of 'immoral' and 'indecent' writings. While this emphasis on a *travesti* as well as reasons for tolerating or prohibiting such nudity could be further debated, what I find particularly noteworthy, and worrying, about Marcos' account is the matter-of-factness with which he talks about pushing the participant down the stairs; and the way he comments on the action of his fellow volunteer who is standing downstairs throwing her ('buff') off the truck without hesitating. Apart from raising questions around the legitimacy of parade volunteers using violence against participants, these actions seem to have involved a risk of hurting the participant. This risk, however, seems utterly irrelevant in view of the risk of the parade receiving bad public visibility.

The articulation of citizenship through public LGBT events can be seen as premised on securitising technologies that involve prevalent norms around conduct being enforced through advice as well as intervention. Although participants are addressed as forming part of the 'LGBT population' whose citizenship is at stake, they are the ones at whom efforts of securitisation are directed only to the extent that they form part of the parade's

image of 'LGBT citizenship'. It is very likely, for instance, that in the case of a homophobic or transphobic attack the particular victim and their security will in fact become a central concern, as such attacks jeopardise not only the events' positive visibility but are furthermore expressive of the very needs of claiming citizenship as articulated through such events (which call for a 'criminalisation of homophobia').¹⁴⁵ Otherwise, however, securitisation comes into play in a rather different way, namely in relation to expectations of LGBT citizens to perform publicly respectable subjects. These processes of staging LGBT citizenship, however, are not straightforward and uncontested. The governmentally oriented activist engagements that give rise to forms of normalising securitisation, paradoxically also give rise to quite different enactments, as we shall see in a moment in relation to a further examination of the Rio parade. Before coming back to this parade, however, I want to comment on Sasha's account of a parade in bairro B.

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Fervo, respect and citizenship at the parade of bairro B

Up to the time of my research, there had only been one LGBT parade in bairro B, which Sasha organised and mentions in our conversation. In comparison to Rio's Copacabana parade, the scale of the event is small, its level of professional organisation very low, and biopolitical technologies of securitisation are not as pronounced. As will become clearer in the following, a focus seemed to be on *fervo* and transgression, as well as respectful community

¹⁴⁵ This could be further analysed in relation to such attacks that have happened, for instance, after the 2007 Niterói parade (in the state of Rio de Janeiro), where the 19 year-old gay Ferruccio Silvestro was heavily beaten up by three young middle-class men (Góis and Soliva 2008); at the 2009 Penedo parade (in Alagoas), where military policemen beat and violent arrested a *travesti*; and in São Paulo in 2009, where the 35 year-old Marcelo Campos Barros was beaten to death, potentially by a group of skinheads, and 23 people were hurt by splinters of a home-made bomb (Folha de São Paulo, 18-06-09).

relations, which, however, also need to be understood in relation to forms of gaining 'respectability'.

In bairro B, gaining positive visibility through LGBT parades seems to be a much more contested process than in the case of Rio's main parade in Copacabana, as fears about negative responses are much more pronounced. In Chapter 8, I mentioned Sasha's remark "We don't want that they accept us, we want them to respect us". It is in the continuation of his statement, that Sasha mentions the 'gay parade' (which is also how LGBT parades are commonly referred to in the public media) that he organised in bairro B, indicating the prevalence of such fears:

Sasha: We don't want that they accept us, we want them to respect us.

((Simon: Yes.)) We organised the first gay parade here [...]. We organised the gay parade – that was *o fervor*! There were a thousand people. Now we're gonna organise it this year. Wow! People didn't believe in it, 'they are gonna throw tomatoes at you!', ((Simon: uhum)) and I said, 'Folks, let's go ahead! We're gonna take the tomatoes right in our face!'

[...]

Simon: But nothing happened?

Sasha: Nothing like that – oh, there were children. The little children with their mothers behind them, the old ladies waving 'hello', to us: 'Sasha, Sasha!', and all these kinds of things. You should have seen=

Again, an atmosphere of *o fervor* is invoked as providing the context for an enactment of difference. This enactment turns out to be much less 'agonistic' than expected, even if Sasha seems to have been rather intrepid beforehand in relation to the risk of getting ridiculed, willing to 'face' this risk in a rather literal sense: "We're gonna take the tomatoes right in our face!". The

enactment is rather, once more, situated in a context of *aconchegante* community relations. 'Little children with their mothers' and 'old ladies' are mentioned, which invokes a scenario of families happily enjoying the event, and openly showing their appreciation by waving 'hello' to Sasha and other parade participants. This scenario is expressive of successfully claiming respect in the community. It expresses a simultaneous enactment of difference, related to the queer subjects claiming respect, and sameness, related to *aconchegante* community relations actually enabling respect.

As in the case of Rio's main parade, it could be further considered to what extent the claiming of respect is premised here on performing a respectable citizen who behaves according to certain norms. The discussion of respect in Chapter 8 has for instance indicated moral values of charity that manifest in enactments of difference in bairro B as expressed by Sasha. From this perspective, similar dynamics of claiming respect and becoming respect-able in the articulation of citizenship are involved in both contexts. Yet, the concrete ways in which such dynamics unfold and their effects seem to be quite different. In the bairro B parade, no biopolitical technologies directed at an 'LGBT population' seem to be in place. Some control or normalisation of conduct might happen rather as a consequence of participants being more familiar with one another and aiming to maintain respectful relations.

As the discussion of Josué's and Sasha's statements in the previous chapter has already indicated, however, such respectful relations can also foster transgressive enactments, in particular when intensities of *ferro* emerge from the *aconchego* of the community. As Sasha further describes the event, he mentions that, apart from 'little children with their mothers' and 'ladies', men reacted positive as well, which invokes precisely such an atmosphere of *o ferro*:

Sasha: Here, things became very open [*Aqui liberou muito*]. You see the guys [*bofes*] here, with their motorbikes (...) the ((Nando:

uhum)) most beautiful guys ((Simon: uhum)) who wouldn't even look us in the face.

Nando: And everyone is having fun [*brinca*], right?

Sasha: Yes, having fun ((Simon: yes)), they got onto the truck and danced with us, with V., they started to dance with the show act (...) this guy with a kind of body [Nando laughs] You had to see it! Hey, it really kicked [*puxou*]! So, I'll do it this year.

Sasha patently enjoys the presence of masculine guys (*bofes*) who join in and contribute to the scenario of *fervo*. As in Josué's description of the kiss during carnival discussed in Chapter 8, a moment of transgression comes into play here, as guys "who wouldn't even look us in the face" dance with Sasha and the others. It is this scenario of respect and *aconchego* in the community and simultaneously transgression and *fervo* that seems to entice Sasha and makes him want to organise another event like this.

Sasha's account of the bairro B parade, then, directs attention to a set of affective dynamics – in particular dynamics of *aconchego* and *o fervo* – that foster respectful and transgressive enactments of sameness and difference. This indicates how, depending on the concrete context and the unfolding subjective-spatial relations, LGBT parades also foster formations of citizenship that are not premised on biopolitical technologies of securitisation, but such affective dynamics. I now want to use a similar focus in order to discuss how heterogeneous enactments of sameness and difference also unfold, in paradoxical ways, in the context of more professionalised LGBT activism, which indicates how heterogeneous formations of citizenship are fostered by activist engagements.



Image 5: Rio's LGBT parade seen from above

The big rainbow flag carried by parade participants plays a major role in the relation to the visibility LGBT parades produce and the claims to citizenship attached to it. As the visibility of the parade more generally is premised on biopolitical securitisation and norms of conduct, the rainbow flag of Rio's main parade can be seen as expressive of a way of claiming citizenship that is associated with biopolitical technologies that have certain normalising effects. Yet, while the image of Rio's parade commonly portrayed in the public media – a diversity of people joyfully parading with the rainbow flag seen from a high angle – fits the positive image of respectable subjects claiming citizenship, when the view is shifted to below the flag, the flag becomes expressive of a quite different kind of enactment. Protected from public view, hundreds of people, mostly men of various social classes, races and ages, are crowded with close bodily contact and engage in flirting, anonymous kissing, touching, and

even masturbating, turning the space underneath the flag into a huge day-time and on-the-street cruising ground. '*É o fero*', as we might say using Sasha's expression. In the field notes I made after having participated in the 2007 parade and passed underneath the flag, I write: "The flag both symbolises the parade's cause – and the people below carry it – and creates limited visibility and a sense of shelter and togetherness. Cruisy, prideful, erotic *geborgenheit*." Something of the prideful claiming of visibility symbolised by the flag gets transposed into the secluded space underneath. The sense of a common cause, of parading *as* gay, of being in close bodily contact combines with the secluded sheltered-ness, evoking a peculiar erotic sense of *geborgenheit*.

This 'under-side' of the flag can be considered an enactment of sameness and of difference at the same time. While a sense of openly, if not 'proudly', claiming difference is pronounced despite the limited visibility, the feeling of togetherness simultaneously evokes an effect of sameness. This enactment plays a role in formations of citizenship, even if not in quite as straightforward a way as when the flag is viewed from above. The ones engaging in illicit activities under the flag are paradoxically also the ones carrying the parade's central symbol, forming a kind of constitutive outside of the event and its claims for respect and citizenship – the affective underside of the 'respectable' flag, as it were. Yet, the erotic enactment underneath the flag is not only an 'outside' of something else, it also has affects and effects of its own. I am thinking in particular of the simultaneity of a sense of transgression and togetherness, which both emerge from the privacy-in-public underneath the flag.

The transgression not only of norms around heterosexuality, but also around decent conduct, could be considered a form of 'anti-citizenship', expressing dissent in relation to the norms explicitly set up in the parade. Another advice listed in the 2009 program of the parade is worth considering

here: "Kissing on the mouth is very good. If the climate gets hotter, you should prefer a motel. Having sex [*transar*] on the street is risky and also an affront to public decency." The fact that the organisers give this advice is an indication of past occurrences, as well as of certain expectations. It is possible that they fear getting in trouble with public authorities if a lot of 'affronts to decency' take place, and that they are concerned with participants exposing themselves to risks of violent attacks. Furthermore, however, such illicit acts seem to jeopardise the event's particular visibility that is centred around respectable citizens. Actual acts of sex can thus be considered as enactments of difference that dissent from these norms of respectability and the image of citizenship associated with them. However, the cruisers under the flag know well that their actions are eclipsed from public view. The image of the 'respectable' citizens can thus stay intact, even if rumours around what goes on under the flag might destabilise this image. What seems to be more characteristic of the enactment than overt 'dissidence', then, is precisely a sense that it is possible to engage in non-normative activities *within* and at the centre of the space of respectability, which is closely associated with the sense of togetherness, as this becomes a kind of secret knowledge, shared by the cruisers themselves. While this enactment does not constitute a straightforward claim to citizenship that is explicitly articulated in public, it can nonetheless be seen as fostering a particular formation of citizenship. As it challenges the very boundaries between public ('street') and private ('motel') and the respectable ('kiss') and the illicit ('fuck'), the cruising under the flag expresses an implicit claim to joyfully inhabit, and re-make, the paradoxical space between the formal and the informal, the public and the private, the respectable and the illicit.

The question of security needs to be considered in this context as well. If under the flag there is a lower degree of policing conduct, this does not only

relate to erotic activities. The space under the flag has been infamous as a place where numerous thefts happen – maybe more so than for being a place of cruising. As we talk about security at the Rio parade in Workshop I, Marcello and Arturo point this out:

Marcello: Under the flag this [thefts] happens a lot, guys.

Arturo: Under the flag this happens, there needs to be police under the flag!

Marcello: It's the most dangerous place [of the parade]!

Arturo: I never go under the flag.

Not only gay men but also thieves take advantage of the combination of seclusion, body contact, and uninhibited festivity created by the flag. The very absence of the police exposes the people under flag to particular risks. While risks seem to be here 'only' about thefts rather than violent attacks, they still have an impact in making people like Arturo avoid going under the flag altogether. This indicates that the emergent formation of citizenship taking shape through the erotic enactment under flag is a precarious one, and that this precarity has to do with a problematic state of security. Moreover, as it exposes the people under the flag to thefts like any other ordinary person in a crowd (and not due to being or acting queer), the space below the flag simultaneously lends itself to be considered as a space where the right to public securitisation can be claimed – "there needs to be police under the flag!"

In making this statement, Arturo appears as an 'ordinary' citizen, staking a claim to security, not as gay, but as a potential victim of assault or theft. Yet, while police presence under the flag could serve to redress such security concerns, it might also destroy the cruisy atmosphere and hinder the excessive enactments of sameness and difference and their implicit claims to citizenship. The space under the flag can thus be considered as a paradoxical space where not only enactments that challenge prevalent biopolitical diagrams

emerge from the midst of such diagrams, but where also intricacies involved in asserting or rejecting securitisation manifest. It brings out the juxtaposition of heterogeneous articulations of citizenship unfolding in the context of LGBT activism and in line with, yet also in excess of prevalent endeavours of securitisation.

Paradoxical formations of citizenship

The discussion of queer people's relations to the police and LGBT parades has indicated heterogeneous enactments of sameness and difference that emerge from, yet also challenge or exceed LGBT activism and the politics of public security. An attentiveness to dynamics of *aconchego* and *geborgenheit* served to juxtapose biopolitical diagrams that are centred on 'vulnerable subjects' and an 'LGBT population' with affective dynamics that foster such heterogeneous enactments in concrete spatial contexts. The issues around paradoxical struggles for security, heterogeneous enactments and *geborgenheit* and *aconchego* were thus explicitly folded into each other so as to bring out how heterogeneous, formations of agency and citizenship emerge from concrete subjective-spatial relations in the context of the LGBT politics of public security. This discussion has brought out a number of often intricate and precarious articulations of citizenship that are shaped by powerful diagrams as well as excessive affective dynamics, indicating particular potentials of and challenges to public security activism, but also the significance of appreciating such intensities as *aconchego* and *geborgenheit*.

Throughout this discussion, enactments that express simultaneously effects of 'sameness' and of 'difference' re-appeared where claims to public securitisation are made and where *aconchegante* community relations are

affirmed. Such a simultaneity of effects of 'sameness' and 'difference' seems to be integral to the formations of citizenship at stake here, as these formations emerge from queer subjects asserting a difference from prevalent norms around gender and sexuality, yet simultaneously appeal to a wider community of citizens to which they claim to be part of. As we have already seen in Chapter 8, the questions of 'respect' and 'respectability' are intimately related to such formations of citizenship that emerge from enactments of sameness and difference.

Different enactments with different effects have been highlighted, for instance in relation to Daniel's sense of citizenship that emerges from staking claims to the police; in relation to formations of citizenship that are premised on a normalisation of conduct, as when 'criminal' or 'indecent' forms of behaviour are being policed at LGBT parades; or in relation to the affirmation of respectful community relations and affective dynamics of *aconchego* and *fervo* that give rise to transgressive enactments at the bairro B parade. Even where the boundaries of respectability are directly being challenged, as in the case of cruising under the rainbow flag, this might still happen in the midst of, and in a certain respectful acknowledgement of, wider relations of respectability. Different enactments of respect and formations of citizenship can thus paradoxically coexist and both challenge and reinforce one another. A consideration of heterogeneous enactments of both sameness and difference and the powerful and affective dynamics they emerge from has thus enabled an exploration of the concrete, and often paradoxical, effects of different formations of citizenship that take shape in the context of, and in excess of, public security activism.

This discussion of paradoxical formations of citizenship could also be extended to further contexts of public security politics. In 'Paradoxical publicness' (Hutta 2010), for instance, I have looked at the LGBT reference

centres that have been set up in Rio de Janeiro and other places after the inauguration of the DDH. I argued that while in being concerned with attending and gathering knowledge about a 'vulnerable LGBT population' these centres engage in a set of biopolitical technologies, the activists working there simultaneously evoke enactments of solidarity, care and resistance to state control. A number of further enactments could also be considered in relation to activist practice. Chapter 5 has pointed out that in particular in Brazilian first-wave activism, practices of denunciation were high on the agenda, and it seems worth exploring what role 'accusatory' enactments, as I called them in relation to Vinícius' collage of the city in Chapter 8, play in contemporary activist practice and in the formation of agency and citizenship. Likewise, 'playful' enactments of difference that emerge from experimentations around gender and sexuality, as in the Vinícius' room (see Ch. 8), have been integral in particular to first wave activism, and it might be worth exploring how this has or hasn't changed. An interesting example from contemporary activism is provided by soirées that Grupo Arco-Íris organised in 2009 and 2010, where people are invited to present and watch performances of all kinds, such as drag performances, singing, theatre or poetry at the organisation's space. Interestingly, at several political conferences I attended, such as the 1st National Seminar on Public Security and Combating Homophobia or the 1st National LGBT Conference, drag performances took place in some of the evenings, which illustrates how playful enactments of difference can get staged in formal political spaces.¹⁴⁶

All these examples indicate that activist practice gives rise to a range of heterogeneous enactments that might be shaped by yet also exceed a governmental logic. Again, a discussion of dynamics of *geborgenheit* could be useful for bringing out the affective dynamics involved in the constitution of

¹⁴⁶ On the political significance of play in queer social movements see also Shepard (2010).

such enactments and the role they play in contemporary formations of agency and citizenship.

CONCLUSION: QUEERING CITIZENSHIP WITH GEBORGENHEIT

In 1982, Félix Guattari made a trip across Brazil. Having been invited by the Brazilian cultural critic and fellow psychoanalyst Suely Rolnik, Guattari, instead of giving a series of academic lectures, held discussions with social movement activists, political parties, intellectuals, and strike leader Luíz Inácio Lula da Silva, Brazil's later president. The collage of texts *Molecular Revolution in Brazil* (Guattari and Rolnik 2008), ensued from Guattari's travels.¹⁴⁷ What inspired Guattari to make this trip was his excitement about the vibrant potential for social change he sensed at a time when the dictatorship had begun to dismantle itself, where massive strikes in metal working and other industries challenged the elites' hegemony, and where a multitude of student,~ women's, homosexuals', blacks' and further social movements pushed for different kinds of sexual, gender, racial and social relations and invented new forms of life and sociability (cf. Genosko 2003). Guattari's fascination was in particular with Lula's newly founded PT party, which, as Rolnik summarises, formed in his view

a vibrating surface of the paradox between the readiness to organize in terms of parties, to struggle under macropolitical banners like 'overthrowing the dictatorship', and, on the other hand, the willingness to allow oneself to be captured by a sensibility for the molecular, by a sensibility for destabilization and the creation of forms of sociability, subjectivity, etc., just as, yet differently essential (459).

¹⁴⁷ See also Nunes, Trott et al. (2009), who map out some of the book's key issues in relation to possibilities for contemporary world-making

It was precisely in such a paradoxical simultaneity of large-scale political organisation and a refashioning of bodily and intersubjective relations on a 'molecular' level that Guattari sensed a singular transformative potential. With his notion of the 'molecular', Guattari addresses processes that cannot easily be apprehended in terms of political programs or militant strategies, but that are nonetheless capable of transforming the whole of the social organisation (61-9; 179-96). The desire for new affective forms of subjectivity and sociability constitutes a molecular vector for change, as it were, which runs right across apparently opposed formations of the macro and the micro. Commenting on emergent homosexual movements, Guattari made a similar point, highlighting the significance of institutional engagements that characterised part of the activities he knew from France, while at the same time pointing out that "problems shouldn't be reduced to that level" (120). As he further explained: "There's a second aspect, which is that, with or without recognition, there's a living presence of homosexuals, feminists, and so on. There's a whole affirmation, a performance of a different way of talking, sensing, and behaving." (Ibid.) The 'affirmative presence' of homosexuals, feminists and others for Guattari introduces a level of politics that exceeds institutionalised politics, yet simultaneously forms part of the same broader process of struggle and transformation.

Almost 30 years later, the social and political situation has changed significantly. A neoliberal democratic system is in place, Lula's PT has sedimented more or less within the political mainstream, and the 'homosexual movement' has acquired the shape of the institutionalised 'LGBT movement'. At the time of Guattari's journey, the emergent notion of 'citizenship' (*cidadania*) derived its political relevance and power from its association with struggles for democratisation and fundamental social and political change, bearing the traces of anti-dictatorship protest. Today, such an understanding of

'citizenship', while still existent, needs to compete with, and has partly been telescoped into, a differently oriented notion that is influenced by the neoliberal reforms of the 1990s and associated with a responsabilisation of non-state institutions like NGOs and the cooptation of social movements into the governmental system of biopolitics (see Ch. 5). LGBT activism has experienced a reorientation from consciousness-raising and the denunciation of state violence to advocacy for laws and policies guaranteeing access to public institutions. Yet, with these changes, a new series of paradoxes has emerged that in some ways still revolves around the simultaneity of macropolitical engagements and molecular affirmation. Not only has the shift in political activism been fragmented and incomplete, it has simultaneously opened up new possibilities for reinventing sexual, gender and wider social relations and for affirming a 'living presence' that is not limited to institutional reform. The notion of 'citizenship' has accordingly not lost its appeal to democratisation and fundamental social change, but rather conjoins heterogeneous approaches and desires that are not easily reconcilable.

This research, then, has been inspired by a similar fascination with a vibrant and highly dynamic socio-political constellation and an aim to tease out and intensify its inherent transformative potentials. It also called attention to the affective, 'molecular', intensities that subsist within and emerge from institutionalised practices and evoke agentic formations, even if these are shaped by powerful norms. Moreover, similarly to Guattari's emphasis on a 'living presence' of homosexuals, the aim has been to throw into relief a number of enactments that are expressive of contingent ways of both inhabiting norms and asserting difference. This enabled an exploration of formations of agency and citizenship that take shape both through and beyond contemporary political engagements. The aim of this research was thus to partake in this 'affirmation' of the emergent and transformative, intensifying

affective, 'molecular', vectors for change that subsist within intricate and often highly precarious conjunctures of social and political life.

At the time of his journey to Brazil, Guattari saw the biopolitical management of minorities consolidating in Western Europe and pointed to the processes of normalisation and control this involved (173, 210). The 'governmentally' oriented LGBT politics of public security, which have been promoting a regime of knowledge centred on 'vulnerable subjects' in need of governmental care, is an expression of the fact that a biopolitical diagram has now become very influential in the Brazilian context as well. This form of activism has been associated with an incitement of 'respectable' conduct and bodily performance, as it needs to negotiate its political articulations in relation to prevalent formations of interests in order to secure its legitimate status within the polity. Yet, if we follow Deleuze's (1986/2006) argument that 'diagrams' of power are necessarily shot through with excessive affective dynamics, this invites us to explore contingent, and again paradoxical, effects they give rise to in actual practice. The very notion of 'vulnerability', as Chapter 6 has argued, has played a significant role in giving political leverage to the LGBT movement.

Moreover, as especially the last chapter has indicated, political engagements that aim to develop responses to the 'vulnerability' of LGBT people in the area of public security have created new possibilities for at least some queer people living in privileged areas to escape a recurrent dilemma; namely to feel a particular need for protection due to ongoing social discrimination and various forms of violence, yet to also feel particularly exposed to police violence. LGBT public security activism has fostered possibilities for queer people to mobilise the police for their own purposes and to assert a right to be properly and decently treated and attended to. As they have become increasingly able to stake claims to public institutions, people like

my gay research participants Daniel or Jorge have simultaneously gained a new sense of citizenship, which allows them to inhabit spaces and places in new agentic ways.

Again, the formation of such agentic potential is intricate and might come at the cost of having to perform the role of the 'ordinary' and 'respectable' citizen. Moreover, the 'living presence' of gays and others, to stay with Guattari's formulation, produces effects in contexts where forms of securitisation as promoted by LGBT activism seem redundant, unfeasible or even undesirable, as the discussions in Part IV have indicated. The question of securitisation has thus been juxtaposed to the question of *geborgenheit*, which enabled a more direct access to what is being 'affirmed' or 'affirmable' about queer people's living presence in particular spatial contexts. Rather than offering a site of redemption that would erase and transcend questions of securitisation, however, 'geborgenheit' served as a transitory device that opened up a different set of questions and engagements. In particular, the question of 'geborgenheit' lead to an exploration of the significance of affective relations of '*aconchego*' for my research participants, as well as for myself, as such relations also emerged during the interactions I was part of.

A cartography of enactments that emerge from *geborgenheit*, *aconchego* and other affective intensities, has introduced further sets of paradoxes, which, interestingly, in many cases also had to do with issues of norms and respectability. Such issues, however, arose in ways that indicated formations of agency and citizenship which, from a perspective focused on 'vulnerable subjects' or an 'LGBT population' that need to be governmentally managed, might appear to be insignificant or even deficient and backward. One might wonder: What does dressing up in one's room, kissing at carnival, taking care of children in one's community or cruising and masturbating below the flag of Rio's LGBT parade have to do with agency and citizenship? Such enactments

are hardly expression of 'citizenship' in the sense of exerting one's right to full access of state services. Some of the enactments discussed in this thesis might even stand in the way of subjects' achievement of full legitimacy as citizens, as they challenge the norms on which such legitimacy is premised. From the perspective developed in this research, however, formations of agency and citizenship exceed the governmental framework that distributes 'agents' and 'citizens' along the axes of 'demanding rights' and 'using public services'. If we become attentive to contingently unfolding processes where affective capacities to act are being dynamically shaped and actualise in concrete spatial and historical context, we can thoroughly pluralise the number and kinds of enactments we might consider pertinent to formations of agency and citizenship.

This gives rise to an exploration of how playful, restless, respectful, caring, agonistic, pleasurable, and a range of further enactments come into being and what concrete effects of 'sameness' and 'difference' they evoke in different contexts and for different subjects-in-space. My discussion of such enactments has indicated that formations of citizenship often emerge where sameness *and* difference are enacted in paradoxical simultaneity. An appeal is made to belonging to and having a stake in a community, while at the same time a position of difference or action that challenges the normal is being asserted. While in some cases the emphasis is on 'demanding respect' or even 'imposing' respect on others, as one of my participants put it, what manifests here is a precarious balance between establishing familiarity and challenging the boundaries of respectability. In yet other cases, the possibility of having a stake in a community seems entirely out of reach, so that enactments of difference are being limited to private and circumscribed spaces. Such enactments might nonetheless give rise to creative ways of renegotiating fears and pains ensuing from such exclusion, as Vinícius' presentation of his picture book examined in

Chapter 8 suggested. The discussion in Part IV has further signalled how such various enactments are also of relevance to LGBT activism itself, and how activist engagements despite, if not *because of* their governmental orientation give rise to enactments of sameness and difference that are constitutive of formations and citizenship not commonly associated with 'LGBT citizenship'. In a number of cases, it seems, the question is not so much how to avoid biopolitical diagrams, but rather how to creatively mobilise them in actual enactments.

The question of *geborgenheit*, then, has contributed to the exploration and affirmation of agentic potential that emerges from a series of paradoxical constellations, in the context of activist engagements and beyond. The rich semantics of the German word, which convey a sense of nested-ness, wellbeing, and being able to open up in relation to a space, have been conducive to the formulation of an 'affirmative' methodological and ethical approach that focuses on the intensification of positive affect, simultaneously tarrying and engaging with all the problems and intricacies that are at stake. Moreover, in lending itself to being juxtaposed to the more negatively and preventively oriented notion of 'security', *geborgenheit* directed attention to a set of affective intensities that seem to play a vital role in the affirmation of queer people's living presence, taking us beyond purely negative conceptions of difference. Such affirmation, it has been argued, does not revolve exclusively or mainly around subjects marking territories or even creating relations of belonging. An exploration of geographies of *geborgenheit* rather entails attending to affective constellations where the 'subjective' and the 'spatial' are intensely entwined, giving rise to a multiplicity of becomings. While such constellations may involve feelings of 'home' and 'belonging', they can also have to do with a sense of 'nesting in someone's place' or 'opening up in relation to' a spatiality. Moreover, they can be associated with a range of

heterogeneous enactments of play, transgression, care, respect, and so forth. An understanding of *geborgenheit* as polysemic and transitory device is thus conducive to pluralising the enactments involved in emergent formations of agency and citizenship.

Geborgenheit has in this project enabled a 'queering' of citizenship, as it has troubled prevalent ways of understanding 'LGBT citizenship', opening the view to alternative forms of affirmation. In the context of the present focus on 'queer people', this 'queering' has furthermore revolved in particular around an interrogation of norms around sexual and gender relations. 'Queering citizenship' thus simultaneously meant exploring how formations of citizenship take shape in relation to subjects for whom the question of 'queer', in the sense of the challenging sexual and gendered norms, is of particular significance. However, *geborgenheit* has unwittingly 'queered' citizenship in a further sense. In extending the view beyond relations of 'belonging', *geborgenheit* introduces an interesting tension with respect to the claiming of 'citizenship'. In some of the cases discussed, dynamics of *geborgenheit* gave rise to agentic formations that exceeded the question of 'belonging' to a community. The situation where I sat with two research participants on a veranda in 'bairro B' provided a vivid example. While in the narrative of Sasha, on whose veranda we sat, the *aconchegante* atmosphere of the place formed part of a scenario of familiarity, respect and belonging, Josué, Nando and I, who visited Sasha, did not seem to feel or claim 'belonging' to the place. Nevertheless, in the course of our talk we became more and more infected by a set of *aconchegante* intensities that were furthermore associated with a sense of *fervo* and transgression summoned by Sasha's account of his activities. Through story-telling, fantasising, commenting on ongoing events and laughing, we intensified these affects of *aconchego* and *fervo*, enacting, and thus broadening the

shared efficacy of the present moment in the semi-public veranda space in new ways.

Josué's comment on kissing a gay male friend 'in front of everybody' indicated the wider productivity of such affective dynamics in fostering enactments of difference that are not considered viable in many other contexts. Moreover, the fact that the *aconchegante* scenario of bairro B has assumed such a prominent role in this very discussion of agency and citizenship testifies to its inherent affective potential: My own intense memories of *aconchego* and *fervo* and of how these affective dynamics transformed my relation to an apparently sleepy part of Baixada Fluminense indicated for me that an agentic potential worth exploring emerges from these dynamics. While in Sasha's case dynamics of *aconchego* seemed intimately related to questions of belonging that can be associated with 'citizenship', in Josué's, Nando's and my own case, the situation is different. The three of us might feel *aconchegado* or *geborgen* in bairro B, yet the enactments this inspires do not revolve around an assertion of belonging or having a stake in a community; at this point ours seemed more of a virtual investment, a being 'drawn in'. The question of 'citizenship' might still be pertinent in this context, to the extent that the enactments at stake here still have to do with collective formations, in which norms operate that are being inhabited or challenged. This calls for some reconsideration of 'citizenship', however, as such collective formations do not necessarily take the shape of a concrete, local, national or transnational 'community'. 'Queering citizenship' through *geborgenheit* has thus a particular meaning, as the question of 'staking claims to a collectivity' seems pertinent, while the concrete shape of this collectivity cannot easily be defined and escapes understandings of 'citizenship' as related to a particular 'community'. While this project has placed a stronger focus on the question of 'agency', the potential for rethinking citizenship

arising from such an engagement with geborgenheit and subjective-spatial relations more broadly is what future work might address in more detail.

APPENDIX

Workshop Flyers (Workshop 2)

Experiência da Cidade

Oficina para Lésbicas, Gays, Travestis, Transexuais e Bissexuais

Encontros
Quartas-feiras, dias 2, 9, 16, 23 e 30 de julho 08
Espaço Cultural Sylvio Monteiro
Rua Getúlio Vargas 51, Centro N. Iguaçu (ao lado da estação ferroviária)

Participação gratuita

Vamos explorar nessa oficina as nossas experiências vivenciadas nos espaços urbanos através de uma variedade de métodos: fotografia, diários, teatro, discussões, vídeo...

São convidad@s a participar @s gays, lésbicas, travestis, transexuais, bissexuais e simpatizantes de todas as idades, raças, clases...

• O que te faz sentir confortável? ou seguro? Onde você tem a melhor lembrança? •
• Existem locais onde você gosta de expressar mais os seus afetos e paixões do que em outros? •
• Existem espaços ou locais que você detesta ou tem medo? •
• Quais são os seus lugares favoritos na cidade? •

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tel: [REDACTED]
msn: [REDACTED]
e-mail: [REDACTED]

Experiência da Cidade

Oficina para Lésbicas, Gays, Travestis, Transexuais e Bissexuais

Quando?

Quartas-feiras,
dias 2, 9, 16, 23 e 30 de julho

Onde?

Espaço Cultural Sylvio Monteiro
Rua Getúlio Vargas 51, Centro - N. Iguaçu
(ao lado da estação ferroviária)

Participação Gratuita

Contato embaixo

Facilitador

Simon Dutta

O objetivo desta oficina é explorar de forma coletiva as nossas experiências vivenciadas nos espaços urbanos. Numa região como a Baixada Fluminense há uma variedade de espaços - públicos e privados, centrais e periféricos, transitados durante o dia ou a noite - locais do trabalho ou do lazer, da família, cultura, amizade, pegação, natureza ou do esporte...

Para lésbicas, gays, travestis, transexuais e bissexuais muitos locais são associados a experiências de discriminação e violência, bem como a sentimentos de medo e desconforto. Por outro lado, há locais de solidariedade e acolhimento, locais onde gostamos de expressar os nossos afetos e paixões—territórios que usamos para as nossas atividades e aos quais damos significados. Sendo assim, para cada pessoa ou grupo de pessoas existem geografias afetivas no espaço urbano marcadas pela memória e por sentimentos. Vamos experimentar nesta oficina uma variedade de métodos para explorarmos as nossas geografias e os nossos territórios da cidade: fotografia, diários, teatro, discussões, vídeo...

Um dos objetivos da oficina é criar um espaço de reflexão, experimentação e comunicação, sobre experiências e formas de ação para confrontarmos a discriminação e a violência que sofremos no nosso dia-a-dia. É importante também criarmos nesta oficina um espaço de acolhimento e trocas. São convidad@s a participar @s gays, lésbicas, travestis, transexuais e bissexuais de todas as idades, raças e classes sociais. No entanto, a intenção não é classificar as pessoas em grupos de identidade—o interesse na temática é mais importante do que a orientação sexual assumida...

Simon Dutta possui mestrado em Psicologia pela Universidade Livre de Berlim, Alemanha (2005), e em 2006 iniciou o doutorado em Geografia Humana na Universidade Aberta de Milton Keynes, Grã-Bretanha. Esta oficina constitui parte do seu projeto de doutorado sobre as experiências cotidianas de pessoas GLBT e as políticas de segurança no Brasil. Estará no Brasil para uma estadia de pesquisa até o dia 18 de agosto 08.

- O que te faz sentir confortável? ou seguro? Onde você tem a melhor lembrança? •
 - Existem locais onde você gosta de expressar mais os seus afetos e paixões do que em outros? •
 - Quais são os seus lugares favoritos na cidade? •
 - Existem espaços ou locais que você detesta ou tem medo? •
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